# The Outlook

*Volume 90* *Saturday, October 10, 1908* *Number 6*


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Published by the Outlook Company, **287 Fourth Avenue, New York.** Chicago Office, Marquette Building.
The subscription price of The Outlook is Three Dollars a year, payable in advance. Ten cents a copy.
Postage is prepaid by the publishers for all subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, Tutuila (Samoa), Shanghai, Canal Zone, Cuba, and Mexico. For Canada $1.20 should be added for postage, and for all other countries in the Postal Union $1.56 should be added for postage.
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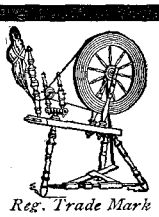

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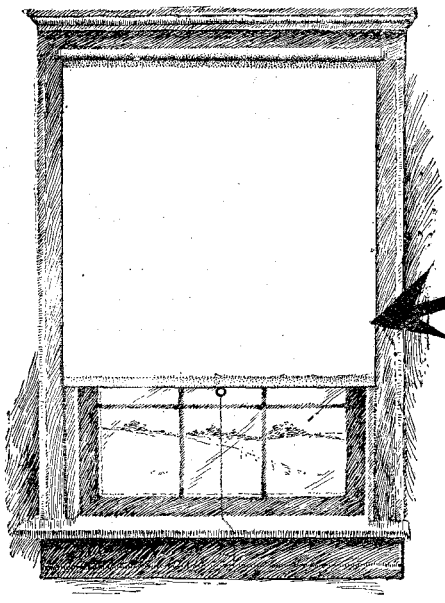

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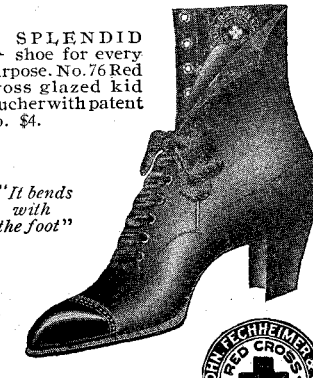


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# The Outlook

NEW YORK, OCTOBER 10, 1908

Vol. 90 No. 6

Published by the Outlook Company, 287 Fourth Ave., New York. Chicago Office, Marquette Building.
Lawrence F. Abbott, President. William B. Howland, Treasurer. Karl V. S. Howland, Secretary.
Lyman Abbott, Editor-in-Chief. H. W. Mabie, Associate Editor. R. D. Townsend, Managing Editor.

$3 a year
10c. a copy


*The Campaign*
*Mr. Taft in the West*

Mr. Taft at the end of last week completed his long campaign journey through the States of Wisconsin, Iowa, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, Nebraska, and Colorado. Everywhere he met with a cordial reception, and the immense audiences he addressed listened attentively to his exposition of the principles he upholds. These principles had been fully and carefully enunciated in the candidate's address of acceptance, and even before that they had been made public as substantially the same. And as they were formed after judicial thought, and expressed, not excitably or sensationally, but calmly, it has not been necessary for Mr. Taft to retract, shuffle, or evade. But in these later speeches there has been evident a certain new crispness and sharpness of form, the result doubtless of practice in speaking to popular audiences. Particularly notable have been the restatements of his positions as regards campaign contributions, injunctions, and the labor question. Thus, as to the first he noted that his opponent did not advocate the publication of expenditures as well as contributions before election, while he himself is and always has been in favor of publicity of both immediately after election. His argument was concisely put in two sentences:

> The chief objection to the publication of contributions before the election is that it makes certain that in the heat of the controversy the motives of those who contribute to pay the legitimate expenses of the campaign will be misconstrued, perverted, and misrepresented. The candidates in whose behalf the contributions are made will be charged in a most unfair way as being completely under the control of those who make the contributions.

Mr. Taft resented with spirit the ridiculous attack lately made on Mr. Hughes because some men of honest wealth contributed to the Republican campaign fund when Mr. Hughes was a candidate for the Governorship, and denounced the recklessness of the charge that Mr. Hughes must therefore be an agent and a creature of the trusts of Wall Street. In his speech at South Omaha Mr. Taft took up with especial thoroughness the attacks upon himself as "the father of injunctions," and because as a judge he made decisions said to be inimical to labor. Frankly declaring that on the bench and privately he had always held that workmen did not have the right to injure property or to declare a secondary boycott against employers (the latter he has before characterized as an illegal instrument of oppression), and declining to apologize for these views, he added with equal definiteness the statement: "I am only telling you the truth when I say that the legality and the opportunity of men to unite, to carry on their organizations to the perfection that they have reached, to raise the funds that they have raised, to bring about trade agreements, to entitle them to the responsible position that they occupy now in dealing with their employers, is as largely due to the law which I laid down as to any other cause." As to the preposterous catchword, "the father of injunctions," Mr. Taft humorously denied that he had invented a process of law of great antiquity, admitted that he would go further than the Republican platform in that he wished that no injunction should issue without notice, and declared that the reason why some injunctions have been too broad is because they were so issued. He added: "It [the abuse of the injunction] is an outrage and ought not to be permitted, and I am not defending it; but what I say is, there are judges and judges, and to visit me with responsibility for every abuse that has



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been committed and not to look to my own cases and to know what my own cases decided is not to give me a square deal." His exposition, here as elsewhere, of the convincing argument against the Democratic claim that a jury trial should precede any injunction, was lucid and unanswerable. Those who think that Mr. Taft is inclined to be too cautious in handling his opponent's vagaries should read the reports of his speech in Nebraska, Mr. Bryan's own State, in which, with the introductory phrase, "I don't think he called your attention to—" he pointed out one by one Mr. Bryan's past political specifics, and ended by summing up the present situation in these words: "The difficulty about Mr. Bryan, my distinguished opponent, is that he is engaged in trying to avoid his record, and the Republican platform and its candidate are trying to stand by their record." Finally, in his speech at Denver, Mr. Taft, referring to the attempt by Mr. Gompers to deliver the labor vote to Mr. Bryan, appealed to clear-headed, intelligent, and independent workmen to look at the facts, and characterized as "windjamming or misrepresentation" the attempt "of a man who claims to control labor to defeat a man who is in favor of labor."

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*The Course of the Campaign*
*The President and Mr. Bryan*

On Monday morning of last week there was published a second letter by President Roosevelt to Mr. Bryan; it was a reply to criticisms of the Administration and of Mr. Taft's candidacy published by Mr. Bryan on the preceding day. Mr. Roosevelt's letter may be divided into three parts, one treating the relations of the Administration to corporations, one treating the subject of campaign contributions, and one treating the question of Mr. Bryan's responsibility for the discreditable record of Governor Haskell. As to corporations the President says: "You would better understand the principle upon which I acted [referring to the Steel Corporation] if you would rid yourself of the idea that I am trying to discriminate for or against any man or corporation because he or it is either wealthy or not wealthy. I regard such discrimination in either direction as utterly incompatible with a spirit of honest and fair dealing. I base my distinction on conduct, not on relative wealth." In corroboration of this attitude towards corporations the President points out that the Administration has prosecuted Mr. Harriman's corporations when they violated the law, but that when, "in connection with the breaking of the Salton Sea dam, one of the Harriman corporations repaired the dam, I, last winter, did everything I could to have Congress reimburse Mr. Harriman for so much of the obligation as I felt ought to come upon the United States. I would hold myself unfit to be President if, because I prosecuted Mr. Harriman where I thought he had broken the law, I yet hesitated to do him justice where I thought the facts required that justice should be done him." Statistics are quoted by the President to show the successful activity of the Government in legal proceedings against corporations for unlawful combinations of capital and for railway abuses practiced in the receiving and giving of rebates or secret rates; and the records of the campaign of 1896 are drawn upon to show that "the great financial magnates" who controlled the output of silver contributed $288,000 to Mr. Bryan's campaign fund, which in the President's opinion indicates that those corporation managers "whose fear of being prosecuted under the law by Mr. Taft is greater than their fear of general business adversity under you, will support you and not Mr. Taft." As to campaign contributions, the President "emphatically approves of the publication of campaign expenses after the election, whether provided for by law or not." He argues that the publication of these contributions before election would result in partisan efforts to distort and misinterpret the motives of the contributors. This conclusion he deduces from the intimations made by Mr. Bryan regarding the contributions to Governor Hughes's campaign two years ago. As to Governor Haskell, the President reviews the judicial and other official records of his career, saying to Mr. Bryan, "You have uttered no word of condem-

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nation of Haskellism as we thus see it." The President's belief is that, although innocent of any collusion with Governor Haskell, Mr. Bryan is responsible for not having been able to distinguish the genuine from the counterfeit in selecting such a man for his intimate political counselor.

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*The Course of the Campaign Publicity of Contributions*

The epistolary debate was continued by the publication a day or two later of another letter from Mr. Bryan addressed to the President. In it he repeats that Governor Haskell should not be condemned except "according to the rules of law," and states that Mr. Haskell resigned from the treasurership of the Democratic National Committee (and thereby presumably from his place as an intimate personal adviser of Mr. Bryan) "that he might be more free to prosecute those who brought accusations against him." A fair implication of these words is that Mr. Bryan still has confidence in Governor Haskell and believes that he has been unjustly treated. Mr. Bryan insists upon the propriety and wisdom of the demand of the Democratic platform for the publication of campaign contributions before election. The chief reason which he gives in support of the demand for pre-election publication is "that the American people have a right to know what contributions are being made, *that they may judge for themselves the motive of the giver* and the obligation imposed upon those who receive." The italics are ours. Mr. Bryan proceeds to express his own judgment as to such motives and obligations by repeating the accusation, made with reference to the election of 1904, that President Roosevelt requested Mr. Harriman to make a contribution or collect contributions for the campaign fund of that year. This accusation was fully reported and discussed by The Outlook in its issue of April 13, 1907. The assertion that Mr. Roosevelt asked Mr. Harriman for a contribution or contributions was based upon certain letters of the President to Mr. Harriman written previous to the election and upon an alleged confidential statement made by Mr. Harriman to one Sidney Webster. In the Webster statement, which the New York Sun recently kept standing at the head of its editorial columns for several days, Mr. Harriman is reported to declare that the President personally told him that "he understood the campaign could not be successfully carried on without sufficient money, and asked if I could help them in raising the necessary funds." The amount which Mr. Harriman is said to have produced as a result of this alleged request is $260,000. When these charges were first made public a year and a half ago, the President publicly and explicitly denied them, and he characterizes them as false to-day. In a statement made last week at the White House Mr. Roosevelt uses the following language: "Any charge that the President ever asked anybody for a contribution is a falsehood pure and simple, and any affectation of misunderstanding the letters passing between Mr. Harriman and the President reflects only on the honesty and good faith of the individual thus affecting to misunderstand." In its review of these letters at the time they were published The Outlook said of Mr. Harriman's visit to the White House that the letters themselves constitute "conclusive evidence that there was no money-raising motive in the invitation." Since the question has become one of personal veracity, it is surprising that Mr. Bryan should prefer to accept the word of a "trust magnate" whom he regards as a menace to the country rather than that of the man of whose policies he claims to be both the parent and the heir.

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*The American Bankers' Association*

Last week the American Bankers' Association held their thirty-fourth annual conference in a four days' convention at Denver, Colorado. The Committee on Federal Legislation reported adversely upon the proposal for a guarantee of bank deposits by either the Federal or the State governments. The report of the Committee contains this pertinent argument:

> Depositors of a bank are guaranteed primarily by the character of the assets in which the depositor's money is invested, margined,

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and fortified by the bank's capital and surplus. If a bank's assets—that is to say, its investments—are good, if its credits have been wisely expended, depositors are amply protected and need no other guarantee. Why should not the bank's assets be guaranteed? Why not guarantee payment to banks of the receivables of their various clients? This would guarantee deposits. Both propositions are alike illogical and absurd. Deposits in a bank are safe in just the proportion that its assets are good. We should discourage unwise extension of credit, rather than open the way for reckless banking, which would seem to be the inevitable result of the proposed schemes.

The Outlook believes that the conclusions of the Association regarding so-called guaranteed deposits are sound. It cannot say the same of the conclusions of the Association regarding postal savings banks. The committee intrusted with this subject made an adverse report on the ground that the present savings banks are sufficient to supply all legitimate needs, and that "the functions of the United States Government should not be extended to spheres more properly occupied by State governments or by corporate or individual effort." This last objection is a political, not a financial, one, and might be applied with equal force to the operation of the post-office itself as opposed to the express companies. We think it springs from that vague dread of "centralization" which leads so many intelligent men to oppose desirable extensions of Federal authority for the protection of interests common to all people of the country. We heartily share the pride of the American Bankers' Association in the savings banks of America, but we do not believe that they completely supply the needs of the country; nor do we think that a system of postal savings banks, as called for by the Republican National platform and as advocated by Postmaster-General Meyer, would detract from the work and business of the savings banks. On the contrary, postal savings banks would foster and increase the habit of saving, and would serve as "feeders" to the regular stock and mutual savings banks. The men and women—even the children—who do not now use the savings banks, partly because of their inaccessibility and partly because their provisions are for the commercial rather than the wage-working class, could easily step into any post-office and start a bank account. When the accumulations of such an account became considerable, the depositor would begin to think that he or she preferred the four per cent interest of the savings banks to the two per cent of the Government, and the account would be transferred. We should suppose that savings bank trustees would recognize and welcome this manifest advantage of the postal savings bank plan.

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*The International Congress on Tuberculosis*

Even Washington, that city accustomed to conventions, councils, and congresses, has been amazed at the size and steady enthusiasm of the International Congress on Tuberculosis, whose seven sections met every morning and afternoon from September 28 to October 3 in the new National Museum. In the huge, unfinished building, in great bare halls with makeshift partitions, the hundreds of members of each section crowded each of its meetings, and left at times not even standing room. Scientists of international reputation and doctors from country villages, clubwomen, architects, social workers, manufacturers, teachers, labor men, Socialists, literary men, lawyers and lawmakers, society women, and the clergy, were all there, not only to listen, but to take part. The variety of the section programmes was remarkable, not only in English, but in other languages, so that a number of official interpreters were necessary to translate the speeches of the distinguished foreign guests in order that every hearer might get the full benefit of the programme. The tuberculosis problem, more than any other in modern times, has brought out the interdependence of society and the necessary brotherhood of man, and along these lines the great Congress worked out its main development. Though Koch and Calmette, Theobald-Smith and Maragliano, Kayserling and Heron, Malmström and Ferreira, were all on the programme, and numberless technical and scientific discussions and experiments marked the Congress, the drift of all the sections was toward the possible establishment

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of immunity rather than any new remedy or panacea. The International Congress of 1908 will not give the world a new and heralded cure. It will give a tremendous impetus, rather, to a concerted work of prevention and immunity, worth tenfold more to the world than any mere remedy for one disease. For its hope and effort, as revealed in every session of every section, was for better study, better sanitation, better physical education, better housing, better home life, better food, better industrial conditions, better social work, from China to Peru. No detail of pathological experiment, nursing, sanatorium work, dispensary methods, municipal and State control, was neglected: but "the body, not the bacillus," as one speaker put it, was always the greater theme. The segregation and care of the incurable and careless consumptive was made a prominent feature also; and the scientific interrelation of bovine and human tuberculosis, with its practical side as to meat and milk, was another center of interest. Justice Brewer, in an extremely interesting paper on the constitutionality of governmental control of the individual's working hours and conditions, cleared up that subject for the Congress. Mr. Talcott Williams estimated the "cost of a city's ransom" in the possible case of Philadelphia. Dr. Pannwitz spoke of the German Red Cross and its tuberculosis work. The nurses' session, in the fifth section, was an unusual and instructive one, with standing room only for late comers during the whole three hours. The general meetings held in the large assembly hall never found it large enough; and altogether the personnel, enthusiasm, and uplift of the Congress will long be an inspiration to all who were there.

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*The Exhibits at the Congress*

One floor of the great National Museum building was given up to the assembly room and the exhibits, and was constantly filled with sightseers, serious-minded and otherwise. Demonstrators showed various interesting things, from the x-ray to radiographs and pathological specimens, the best kind of window-tent and the latest thing in children's playgrounds and farm gardens. The German Empire had a very fine exhibit, with a striking series of colored tubes and cubes illustrating the death rates from tuberculosis at all ages, and also immense models of workingmen's villages and sanatoria. Sweden and Switzerland had especially picturesque exhibits and demonstrations. The walls of the Swedish exhibit were papered with hundreds of the blue, pink, and green series of anti-tuberculosis stamps—the cousins of the Denmark and American Red Cross Christmas Stamps; and the custodian was in full Swedish peasant-girl costume. New York had a unique set of cartoons and a phonograph for popular lecturing on anti-tuberculosis lines, which made social workers from other States feel covetous. The Boston Association's exhibit had a smaller phonograph, the first in the anti-tuberculosis field, given by Mr. Edison. Boston also showed a system of teaching practical hygiene of home and person to children of all ages that was illuminating and fascinating, utilizing kindergarten work, paper dolls, and sloyd in skillful combination. Colorado had an exhibit of unusual maps of atmospheric and temperature changes which attracted much notice, and the outdoor shacks in the Wisconsin exhibit were the best of their kind. Pennsylvania had perhaps the largest and most complete exhibit, though New York and Massachusetts pressed close behind. The exhibits showed the same trend as the discussions of the Congress—towards prevention and immunity rather than pathological work. The playgrounds and educational devices for children, the methods of sleeping in fresh air and making rooms hygienic, the sterilizing of milk, the ideal arrangement of farm-house rooms at one end of the scale as well as tenement ones at the other, all struck the same insistent note. The numberless models of sanatoria illustrated every conceivable right way of living in fresh air by day and night. A special series of photographs showed advanced methods for preventing dust or lint from getting into the lungs of the workmen in various factories and trades. The array of pamphlets was remarkable,

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each one more interesting than the last, so that every one visiting the building went away with an armful, and meant to read them, too. One of the representatives from China expressed the hope that in the near future the International Congress might hold its sessions in China. Whether that happens or not, the fact is undoubted that the impetus given to anti-tuberculosis work in every department by this Washington Congress will be felt all around the world for years to come.

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*Two-Cent Postage with Great Britain*

The new postal treaty between the United States and Great Britain, providing for two-cent postage on letters between the two countries, went into effect October 1, thus marking another most important step in international comity and good will. The Hon. J. Henniker Heaton, of London, the foremost English advocate of the treaty, sent to Postmaster-General Meyer by Marconi wireless the following message:

> On behalf of the British House of Commons, I beg to felicitate the fearless Postal Minister of the United States, who won Anglo-American two-cent postage for the two peoples, on magnificent demonstrations of popular sympathy with this the greatest achievement, so far, of the twentieth century.

Congratulations were also exchanged between Postmaster-General Sydney Buxton, of the United Kingdom, and Postmaster-General Meyer, and the general reception of the treaty in Great Britain and also in the United States has been enthusiastic. While on general foreign mail the receipts at the post-office in New York the first day of the new law showed no remarkable increase, the letter mail between the United States and Great Britain increased enormously, as the following figures given out by Postmaster Morgan show:

| | Total Foreign Sacks. | Total Letters. | Letters to Great Britain and Ireland. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Thursday, Oct. 1.... | 1,283 | 280,661 | 94,824 |
| Thursday, Sept. 24.. | 1,236 | 161,265 | 32,618 |
| Thursday, Sept. 17.. | 1,350 | 246,558 | 49,781 |

It is only fair to add that the large increase in our letter mail to Great Britain was due, not to an enormous increase in private letters, but to consignments of circulars by business houses held back to take advantage of the new rate. As shown in this instance, the reduced postal rate will greatly favor closer business relations between the United Kingdom and the United States, and private mail in time will also largely be increased. Americans, even before the new treaty, were able to send letters for two cents to Canada, Mexico, Cuba, the Philippines, and Shanghai, and the inclusion now of Great Britain will make practically a two-cent letter postage to all English-speaking countries except Australia and New Zealand. It is interesting also to note the fact that the decrease in the postage rate between England and the United States has been rapid during the last hundred and twenty-five years. In Revolutionary times it cost four shillings to send a letter from New York to London. In 1812 our domestic postal rate was twenty-five cents for five hundred miles or less. This domestic rate dropped to five cents for less than three hundred miles by the time of the Mexican War, and the English rate had dropped to a penny. At the time of our Civil War the postal rate was three cents per half-ounce for three thousand miles or less, and ten cents for greater distances. At the time the International Postal Union was formed in 1874, a universal rate of five cents for foreign postage was established, and this rate still holds for all except the countries named above. Possibly Mr. Heaton may be mistaken in regarding the establishment of the two-cent postage rate between Great Britain and the United States as "the greatest achievement, so far, of the twentieth century," but that it is a great one and prepares the way for still greater achievements every one will admit.

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*England's Willingness to Learn from the United States*

A most satisfactory significance attaches to the official reports which have just been published by the Government of Great Britain on the methods of caring for the feeble-minded in five or six of our larger States. Since 1905 a Royal Commission has been at

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work investigating the care and control of feeble-minded persons in England, Scotland, and Ireland. With a view to ascertaining what guidance could be had from American experience, several members of the Royal Commission visited the States of New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, New Jersey, and Maryland, and the District of Columbia; and it is the report of this sub-commission that has now been published as a blue book. The Commissioners report that in the United States the word "feeble-minded" is used to denote all grades of mental defect except acquired insanity; and that in 1904 14,300 feeble-minded persons were detained in special institutions maintained by the States. In England the Government maintains no such special public institutions. Of the American institutions the Commissioners state that they "are the result of the practical experience of men who have made it their life's work to study this particular problem," and that "these institutions appear to them in their method of treatment, administration, and finance to be examples that in many respects may be imitated in the United Kingdom with great advantage." "The principle which underlies American practice," they continue, "is that no person who is mentally inefficient should be left without care and supervision. If such care cannot be provided by the family, the State undertakes the duty. This is justified on the grounds, firstly, that the community owes protection to its weakest members; and, secondly, that the community itself suffers by the irresponsible actions of the feeble-minded, who fall into dependence, destitution, and crime, particularly in the case of women, who are unable to defend themselves from the sexual dangers which beset them." The American method of treatment, which consists chiefly in developing to the utmost extent whatever faculty the feeble-minded may possess, is much commended by the British Commissioners, who were surprised at the amount of really useful labor which the mentally afflicted in State institutions are able to perform when wisely directed and constantly supervised. In State asylums for the insane, which are also reported upon, the British Commissioners ascertained that the proportion of medical men to the rest of the staff is generally higher than in similar institutions in England, and as a consequence of these large medical staffs the scientific treatment of the insane is facilitated. Another feature in the internal economy of these State institutions on which the Commissioners lay much stress is the share taken by women in the management of those institutions at which women are received. Other features in the care and control of the feeble-minded and also of the insane are singled out for commendatory mention; and the report of the British Commissioners puts these American institutions before English students of these sociological problems in the best possible light. The English poor law system is soon to undergo much reform—the most sweeping reform since it was put on its modern basis in 1834; so that practical use is likely to be made of some of the results of American experience in controlling and caring for both the feeble-minded and the insane. Students of sociology familiar with conditions both in England and in the United States have long known that in such matters as the control of the liquor trade, the education of the blind and of the deaf and dumb, the care of the feeble-minded, and the prohibition of half-time work for children in factories, the more progressive States are well in the lead of England. To have this lead in so important a matter as the care and control of the feeble-minded admitted by a Royal Commission is a noteworthy incident in the international relations of the two great English-speaking countries.

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*The Opposition to Eight-Hour Day Legislation in Canada*

Labor legislation in Canada has a much more uphill path to tread than in England or in any of the other British colonies. Manufacturers in the Dominion, to the number of 2,200, are strongly organized in the Canadian Manufacturers' Association. Not more than four or five hundred of the manufacturers of Canada are outside of this organization;

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and, next to the committee which keeps alive the propaganda for higher protection against British and American competition, the most important of the permanent committees of the Association is that which watches labor measures introduced in Parliament at Ottawa or in the nine Provincial Legislatures, and which also assists manufacturers engaged in litigation with the labor unions. The conventions of the Association are held in the autumn; and at each annual convention this committee reports its successes in Parliament and in the Legislatures and in the courts. At the autumnal convention of 1908, which met in Montreal, this committee congratulated the Association that organized labor in the preceding year had not pressed for legislation with as much insistence as in some previous years, and pointed with pride to the fact that the committee had helped to side-track a bill at Ottawa to make an eight-hour day compulsory on contracts for the Dominion Government, and a resolution in the House of Commons to give the label of organized labor the status of a trade-mark. This resolution was opposed on behalf of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, because, to quote the committee's report, "to recognize the label as a trade-mark would be to legalize the boycott." The Convention cordially approved of what the committee had done at Ottawa; and it also unanimously indorsed the action of the committee in hiring a lawyer to appear before a Royal Commission at Halifax to oppose a movement for a statutory eight-hour day for the coal-miners of Nova Scotia.

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*Also to Workmen's Compensation Laws*

One really noteworthy and beneficent action taken by the committee was not indorsed by the Convention. The Canadian Manufacturers' Association, for its detailed work, is divided into sections. One of these sections—which has its headquarters in Montreal—had during this year made recommendations to a Royal Commission, sitting at the city of Quebec, in favor of a workmen's compensation law on the lines of the act which the English Parliament in 1897 passed at the instance of Mr. Chamberlain. The movement in the French Province for such a law is very strong. The Montreal section of the Association regards legislation on the subject as inevitable during the winter of 1908–9. Hence the detailed recommendations to the Royal Commission at Quebec, and its indorsement of a bill which will make compensation for accidents obligatory on all employers of labor in the Province; determine such compensation in proportion to the earnings of the victim at the time of the accident; fix compensation for death or total disablement at a sum not exceeding $2,500; and thereby do away with annoying and expensive litigation. The Parliamentary committee embodied all the recommendations of the Montreal section in its report, and added the commendatory comment that the recommendations were, in the main, fair and reasonable. But the Convention peremptorily refused to take that view of them. There were strong protests against the Association going publicly on record in favor of such legislation, on the ground that if one concession were made to organized labor it would be followed by requests for more; also that such a law as that recommended would throw a burden on manufacturers generally that they were utterly unable to bear. These protests came from Toronto manufacturers, who complained that unionized labor in Ontario was too much subject to the influence of labor unions in the United States. Two Montreal manufacturers vigorously championed the recommendations of the Montreal section, and urged that a workmen's compensation law would establish harmonious and humane relations between employers and employees. They appealed, moreover, to the Association to look at the question broad-mindedly; and they warned the Convention that such laws were inevitable, and that Parliament at Ottawa would soon have to enact a workmen's compensation law that would apply to the whole of the Dominion. These appeals, however, were in vain; for on a standing vote it was ordered that the recommendations be deleted from the report as adopted

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by the Convention. New Brunswick is the only Province that so far has adopted the principle that industry shall carry the social burden of its casualties and fatalities.

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*A Grand Lama Adrift*

There is something pathetic as well as amusing in the wanderings of the Dalai Lama of Tibet. Last week the cable reported that he had arrived in the vicinity of Peking with a retinue of eighty attendants, and is to be followed by three hundred servants and officials, while former reports have stated that a train of nearly a thousand persons had accompanied his travels. His situation is a curious one, and the question what he is to do or where he is to go is one which perplexes his adherents and disturbs the Chinese Government. In books of travel and romances of olden time we used often to hear of the Grand Lama, and not a few children have puzzled over confused ideas as to the llamas of South America and the Lama of Tibet. The name Grand Lama has fallen into disuse, partly, perhaps, because for the last century or two there have really been two Grand Lamas—not, as is often supposed, differing in authority, or holding sway, one over the religious and the other over the civil functions, but with separate rule over different territories, and personally equal in spiritual and temporal rank. Yet, of these two combined popes and kings, the Dalai Lama has always been regarded as greater, because of his greater territory. The name has the poetic meaning, "Priest, Vast as the Ocean;" while his colleague has a name which has been translated as "The Right Reverend Teacher-Jewel." It is well known that every Grand Lama is believed by Tibetan Buddhists to be a reincarnation of his predecessor, and so on down the centuries—that is, whenever a Grand Lama dies, his soul is believed to be born immediately in some infant; this infant is at once recognized by infallible signs and hailed as head of church and state by the priests. Tibetan Buddhism is in itself a very curious thing, being a mixture of the ordinary Buddhist beliefs with all sorts of Asian myths, traditions, and philosophy. A prime tenet has always been that the eye of the ungodly and ignorant foreigner should never behold the ineffable and immortal Lama, or see the mysteries of the religious worship. It is for this reason that Tibet was for so many centuries shut off from foreign friendship as well as foreign aggression; and the story of the very few men who have ever penetrated into the sacred city, Lhasa, is a thrilling one. Nevertheless, as our readers know, the English expedition under Colonel Younghusband crossed the mountain passes in 1904 and pushed its way into the Holy City itself. One result was the departure of the Dalai Lama, who could not accept the humiliation of living and ruling in a city in which foreigners were present. Apparently the inferior Lama decided to put up with the insult and to remain, if not in Lhasa, at least in Tibet. For the last four years the Dalai Lama has been wandering over northern China with a great retinue. The Chinese authorities have treated him with respect and reverence, while everywhere tens of thousands of Chinese Buddhists have lined the roads, prostrating themselves before him. But the entertainment and reception of this semi-royal procession have been no small tax on the local authorities. Some reports represent the Tibetans as "a wild, disorderly, unkempt-looking crowd, giving no impression of their religious affiliations." The despatches from Peking, however, give a more favorable account of the appearance of the Dalai Lama, who was "carried in a yellow chair over a road strewn with yellow sand to the Yellow Palace, where he is to reside"—yellow being, of course, the Chinese imperial color, denoting honor and fortune. If, as the despatches also state, the Dalai Lama brought six cart-loads of presents for the Chinese Imperial Court, and had a troop of eight hundred camels and four hundred ponies, he can hardly be regarded as a political pauper. But there is a complication, politically speaking, in his curious wanderings and uncertain condition; for China aspires to rule in fact as well as in name over Tibet, and cannot afford

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to treat the Dalai Lama with other than the greatest honor, while he shows no inclination to follow China's earnest desire that he should retire to his own country and there accept the advance of modern ideas.

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*The Damascus-Medina Railway*

The dateless, moveless calm of the unchanging East may be said to have passed into tradition with the opening the other day of the new railway from Damascus to Medina. An Imperial Mission was sent from Constantinople for the special occasion, which was appropriately timed to coincide with the anniversary of Sultan Abdul Hamid's accession to the throne. The Sultan's special representatives, after praying at the Prophet's tomb at dawn, proceeded to the railway station outside the city, where Mussulmans from all over the Empire were assembled. There the Sultan's official message was read and speeches delivered, one of the speakers, Ali Kiamil, of Egypt, rejoicing that the railway had not been permitted by the Prophet to reach the "Holy City" before the Caliph had granted a constitution to his people. The new railway which crosses the Arabian desert to Medina and will thence be continued to Mecca, the holy city of Islam, as soon as the Sultan's disordered finances will permit, was formally begun in 1900. Its progress, owing to lack of funds and energy, was slow, but in 1904 it had reached Ma'an, and at this point a great celebration of the event took place. Two years more were required before it reached the Tabouk station, and here again, on the spot where Mohammed repelled the Greek invasion, another celebration was held; and, finally, a few weeks ago, the rails had crept across the desert to Medina, the first great terminal of the road. The celebration at Medina was naturally the greatest of all, only to be excelled, perhaps, some time in the future when what is called the holy railway reaches its final terminus at Mecca, the goal of pilgrims for hundreds of years. The length of the line from Beirut via Damascus to Medina is, in round numbers, one thousand miles, and from Medina to Mecca is two hundred and eighty miles. When the entire railway is completed, its facilities will enable every devout Mussulman to achieve the greatest ambition of his life, to visit the capital of Islam and worship at its holy place. In one part of the line, from Haifa to De'era, the railway winds along the shore of the Sea of Galilee and crosses the Jordan on a bridge. This part of the line, therefore, will be of special advantage to Christian as well as Moslem pilgrims, and will naturally tend to make Palestine more familiar to the Western world. Syrian traders also will find the new line of great advantage, and the results of this picturesque Moslem enterprise in adding a new pulse of life to the entire East will be a notable event in history. Politically, and in a military sense, the Damascus-Mecca Railway will give new coherency and strength to the Sultan's dominions in Asia, and will have an important bearing on British and Russian plans in that quarter of the world. Already, it is said, under the dominance of the Young Turk party and the new advisers of Abdul Hamid, the concession to Germany to build the Bagdad Railway has been recalled, a report which, if true, will be of vast moment to the Kaiser's Asiatic ambitions. Recent travelers in Arabia have also pointed out the growing dominance of English influence in that country. With the new railway enabling the Sultan to send troops promptly to a region of Arabia hitherto practically inaccessible to military operations, it is probable that all Arabia, except, perhaps, the extreme south, where England is seated at Aden, will be brought actually as well as nominally under the sway of the Sultan.

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*A Correction*

A correspondent writes to correct our statement that the Philippine Assembly voted against "immediate independence." He says the Assembly voted for it. Our correspondent is correct. Our statement was based on information derived from a resident in the Philippines who has recently come to this country, and to

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whom our correspondent's letter has been referred. He thus explains the statement made to us: "The resolution voted upon at this time was of the spectacular character usually framed to please patriotic constituents. . . . I have it from prominent members of the Philippine Assembly, and from prominent Filipinos not connected with the Government in any way, that it is generally realized that the gift of 'immediate independence' could not be anything but disastrous to the Philippine Islands. . . . If 'immediate independence' means merely political liberty supported by Americans and 'armed neutrality,' then of course all Filipinos would be in favor of it, but, quixotic as our pledge to the Filipino people is, I believe it does not include anything as extreme as this."

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*Reform the Records*

The phonograph is often an instrument of pleasure and education, but it is too often an instrument of torture, from the standpoint of taste. The organization of a society to reform phonograph records has not come a day too soon, for the whole English-speaking world is at present tortured in ear and soul by the vulgarity which pours like a tide out of innumerable phonographs. A good phonograph interpreting a real musical record is a delight; but a phonograph shouting catchpenny tunes and declaiming the cheap jokes of the vaudeville stage is an instrument skillfully devised for the demoralization of the American people. There is no quiet place on land or sea to which it does not penetrate. The seclusion of the mountains and the woods, where night falls with a hush that can be felt, is ignobly disturbed by tunes and talks which the great majority of the people who are compelled to listen to them would not, under any circumstances, go to hear. A man or a woman can keep away from a cheap vaudeville show; but no man or woman can keep away from a phonograph in a neighboring house. An experienced yachtsman lately said that the most beautiful feature of yachting used to be the quiet loveliness of the little harbors in which the yachts were anchored on summer nights; now, he said, every other yacht has a phonograph, yelling in the night air, in mechanical tones, those travesties of real music which are the stock in trade of the cheap musical shows. The automobile, penetrating to the remotest inn, has revolutionized the old order of things, and promises to destroy the last vestige of privacy and seclusion; the unreformed phonograph is fast making silence an impossible possession for Americans.

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# *The Political Campaign*

## *I—The Paramount Issue*

The Outlook has asked Mr. Edward M. Shepard to tell its readers why, in his judgment, they should vote for Mr. Bryan, the Democratic candidate; and it has asked Mr. James Graham Phelps Stokes to tell them why, in his opinion, they should vote for Mr. Debs, the Socialist candidate, and it hopes to print these articles in following issues. I propose in four articles to tell the readers why, in my opinion, they should vote for Mr. Taft, the Republican candidate. In these articles I shall consider successively:

The Paramount Issue.
The Fundamental Issue.
The Constitutional Issue.
The Personal Issue.

The Moral Issue is the Paramount Issue. The first question for the voter to ask himself is, What can I do to promote honesty in public and private life? This is more important than railway rate regulation, control of the trusts, tariff revision, currency reform, colonial administration, or publicity of campaign finances. These political questions are chiefly important as their solution involves the promotion of public and private honesty. Law cannot make a people honest. But law can, as Mr. Gladstone has pointed out, make virtue easier and vice more difficult. Because I believe the election of Mr. Taft will give an

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added strength to the partially awakened American conscience, because I believe it will promote public and private honesty and make public and private dishonesty more difficult, I hope to see Mr. Taft elected.

The latter half of the nineteenth century was one of appalling and apparently increasing corruption, both at home and abroad. In Russia it was almost as pestilential as in the era of Rome's profligacy or in that of the Ancien Régime in France. It was not so gross in other European countries; but in England alone was it brought under control and made a diminishing vice. Local causes, superadded to world conditions, contributed to increase corruption in America. The era following a great war, always characterized by a lowered public conscience; the influx of a great army of immigrants, untrained either intellectually or morally for self-government; the sudden enfranchisement of millions of ex-slaves, who had never learned in slavery, Thou shall not steal; the unprecedented growth in population and in wealth, inciting to gambling in all its forms; the experiment of partnerships between the Government and the railways, entered into for motives sometimes of patriotism, sometimes of pelf; the discoveries of gold, oil, and copper, and the intense struggle for possession which the discoveries incited in unscrupulous men; and the inheritance from a previous half-century of the political motto, "To the victors belong the spoils"—all tended to intensify the forces of greed and to lower the standards of integrity. Public corruption reached its apparent climax during the second administration of President Grant, but the house-cleaning which followed was spasmodic and superficial. What President Garfield might have done but for his tragic death we can only surmise. President Cleveland raised the standard of public morals, but he was better fitted to oppose the encroachments of new dishonesties than to ferret out the old ones. President McKinley was as honest a man as ever sat in the President's chair; but President McKinley's time and energy were all absorbed, first in a vain effort to secure international bimetallism, next to keep the Nation from lapsing into a disastrous and dishonest silver monometallism, and lastly to carry to a successful issue the Spanish War.

When, therefore, Mr. Roosevelt succeeded Mr. McKinley in the Presidential office, he inherited with that office the results of half a century of growth in commercial and political corruption, partly due to world conditions, partly to local conditions. His experience as United States Civil Service Commissioner had given him a knowledge of the nature and extent of political corruption and the methods of the corruptionists which could have been gained in no other way so thoroughly. His experience as Police Commissioner of the city of New York had brought him into direct conflict with probably the most skillful and the most corrupt political organization in the country. His experience as Governor of the State of New York had convinced him that the corruption was commercial as well as political. He had not been in the Presidential office six months before he saw clearly—probably he had seen this before—that to purify the public service it was necessary to bring first to the bar of the Courts of Justice and next to the bar of Public Opinion those politically favored corporations which were corrupting both the public and the private life of the Nation. In his fall campaign, following his inauguration, he declared war against them.

It is not necessary to recite here the story of that war. In it the Administration has regarded neither section, race, class, nor party. It has prosecuted with equal vigor the riotous miners in the West and the coal barons in the East; it has been equally ready to protect negroes from peonage, Indians from confidence men, and the country at large from timber thieves; it has been equally ready to prosecute organizations in restraint of trade whether of laborers or capitalists; it has proceeded with equal vigor against Senators of the United States, against railway officials, and against great shippers; and it has never discriminated in favor of political adherents or against political opponents.

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The President has given the following list of what has been achieved, and a subsequent statement from the Attorney of the Inter-State Commerce Commission shows it to be only a partial statement of one class of criminal prosecutions, those for violation of the anti-rebate law. It does not include the peonage cases, nor the timber-stealing cases, nor the land fraud cases, nor the Indian robbery cases:

As regards suits to suppress railway abuses, under the last Democratic administration there were no indictments against shippers for securing rebates or secret rates. Under my administration there have been forty-nine indictments for secret rebates, resulting in eighteen convictions, and in only four cases have these indictments failed. The other twenty-seven cases are still pending. Among the railroads which have been convicted are the Chicago and Alton, the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy, the New York Central, the Chicago, Rock Island, and Pacific, and the Chicago, Milwaukee, and St. Paul, while scores of cases are still pending against leading railroads. Among the shippers that have been convicted are some of the greatest corporations in the United States, as, for instance, the American Sugar Company, the aggregate fine actually paid being more than $150,000; Swift & Co., Armour Packing Company, the Cudahy Packing Company, Nelson Morris & Co., each of whom were fined $15,000, and the cases have now been carried to the Supreme Court. The Standard Oil case is still pending.

This has not been Mr. Roosevelt's personal work alone. It has been the work of an Administration of which he is the head, but of which Mr. Taft has been a loyal member. In these prosecutions, conducted by a variety of District Attorneys, in different parts of the United States, the Administration has had Mr. Taft's constant support and legal counsel. He has shown his spirit, not only by his co-operation in the general movement, but by his special activity in his own special field. He has made all the Americans who were exploiting the Philippines his bitter enemies by his consistent and vigorous maintenance of the doctrine, The Philippines for the Filipinos. He has done much—how much history does not yet tell—to clean out the corrupt elements that had flocked to Panama, and to make that pestilential spot compare favorably in sanitary conditions with our Northern cities. And those who know him, as I do, know that he is as "fighting honest" as Mr. Roosevelt himself, and abhors all forms of fraud, falsehood, and corruption with as eager an abhorrence. Finally, Mr. Roosevelt has with characteristic candor indicated Mr. Taft as his candidate. He has been criticised for doing so. I am glad he did so. I am glad to know whom he would choose to complete the work so well begun. If the President had removed, or threatened to remove, from office any man for not supporting Mr. Taft, or had appointed or promised to appoint any man to office as a reward for supporting Mr. Taft, I should be as quick to criticise as any of my readers. But there is not the slightest evidence that he has ever done anything of the sort. He has simply told the country whom he would choose to finish the work he has begun. For that I am obliged to him; I urged him to do so before he did.

If Mr. Taft is elected President, I am sure that this policy of prosecuting law-breakers, big and little, in every section of the country will be as vigorously maintained as it has been vigorously initiated. The Government will continue to ferret out frauds and to punish the perpetrators already detected. If Mr. Bryan is elected, this whole policy will be halted for a time—necessarily halted. Mr. Bryan cannot help the halt. There will be a new Attorney-General and a new staff of assistants in Washington. There will be new District Attorneys in every District in the United States. The present District Attorneys, who are familiar with the facts, will retire. The new District Attorneys will require at least six months to acquire familiarity with the facts. Even if officers as able and as honest as the present incumbents are appointed, there will be an interregnum. That in all cases officers as honest and able will be appointed is too much to hope. President Roosevelt has had time, in his seven years, to weed out the less competent, and he has done so. That Mr. Bryan, if elected, would appoint some who would afterward need to be weeded out will appear certain to all who do not impute to him an infallible judgment of men.

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That he is even a good judge of men appears to me to be at least doubtful.

If I could think, as some writers for the newspapers appear to think, that all the corruption is in the Republican party and all the honesty in the Democratic party, I should be ready to vote "for a change." But clearly that is not the case. If Philadelphia is one of the most corrupt cities in the country and is governed by a Republican ring, New York City is at least a close second, and it is governed by a Democratic ring. Thieves have no party prejudices; there is corruption in both parties. Mr. Roosevelt and the men whom he has gathered about him are fighting corruption first of all in their own party. It is not true that all the men in his party who hate Mr. Roosevelt are corrupt, but all the men who are corrupt hate Mr. Roosevelt. If they do not hate Mr. Taft as bitterly, it is only because they do not know him as well. But all the corrupt elements in the Democratic party do not hate Mr. Bryan. Some of them are his ardent supporters and apparently trusted counselors. We know who Mr. Taft's associates in his administration would be, for we know who they are now. We do not know who Mr. Bryan's associates would be, and when I consider some of the men whom he has apparently chosen, or at least accepted as his advisers in the campaign, I cannot avoid apprehension as to the probable character of his advisers in the Administration, if he were elected.

The paramount issue, then, appears to me to be this: Shall we continue to the end the campaign against political and commercial corruption which Mr. Roosevelt has initiated? To that question I can give but one answer, Yes! I am sure that it will be carried on with as much vigor and efficiency by Mr. Taft as by Mr. Roosevelt. He is Mr. Roosevelt's choice. He is fighting honest. He is a great lawyer, peculiarly fitted for such a campaign. He is familiar with the facts because he has been one of Mr. Roosevelt's trusted counselors in that campaign. He has shown his ability to be a commander-in-chief in such a campaign by the work he has done as a division commander. It is always hazardous to swap commanders on the battlefield. I have no assurance that Mr. Bryan would be able to conduct such a campaign with success. I am sure that, however good his intentions, for the first year or two he would be at a great disadvantage. And I am more than willing to postpone all merely political and economic questions until this campaign against corruption is brought to a decisive issue.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

## *The Brotherhood of Man*

With much in the Manifesto of the Ministers' Socialist Conference, reported on another page, The Outlook is in sympathy. Christianity means Brotherhood. The immediate and direct object of Jesus Christ was, not to save few or many from a lost world for a heaven hereafter, but to bring on the earth a new social order, whose rule should be the Golden Rule practically applied in every relation of life; it was to hasten "the reign of Justice and Brotherhood upon earth." But we do not believe that "the operation and distribution of production by the people and for the people" is necessary to Brotherhood; nor that it is "a fundamental principle of Christ's teaching that service is its own reward," if by that is meant that service should have no other reward; nor that "a system based upon profits as the reward of service, upon wages as the reward of labor, is directly opposed to this [His] fundamental law."

What does Brotherhood of Man mean, as interpreted by the teaching of Jesus Christ?

It does not mean that men are morally and intellectually equal. They are no more equal in their brains than in their stomachs; in their capacity to think than in their capacity to digest. And no education that can be given in this short life will make them equal. It does not mean that they are all to think alike; that they are all to be Republicans or Democrats, Socialists or Individualists, Roman Catholics or Protestants. Truth

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is too large for any one man to see the whole of it. What Paul said so many years ago the history of thinking proves: "We know in fragments." It does not mean that we are all to do the same work or hold the same position. The clock needs a pendulum as well as hands. Society needs all kinds of workers; what it does not need is any kind of idleness. The men who dig and blast in order to tunnel through the rock are just as essential to the great Catskill Aqueduct on which New York City is to depend for its life as are the engineers who direct the work. It does not mean that men are to work for nothing, or only for the joy of working. On the contrary, it is the implied if not the explicit teaching of Jesus that the laborer is worthy of his hire, that he has a right to ask that whatever is just he shall receive, and what is just is the product of his labor; if he has united with others in the labor, it is just that he receive a fair proportion of the product, apportioned in the spirit and upon the principle of the Golden Rule.

Brotherhood means, in the first place, mutuality of respect; respect by the hand laborer for the superintendent who directs the factory, for the drummer who sells the product; respect by the superintendent and the drummer for the hand laborer who works at the loom or the bench; respect by the Republican for the Democrat and for the Democrat by the Republican—a respect which the debates of a so-called "campaign" cannot destroy and may do much to increase, as the last war increased the mutual respect of North and South. It means respect between the religious sects. The Protestants will not all be converted to Roman Catholicism; the Roman Catholics will not all be converted to Protestantism. But they can all be converted from the attitude of hatred and contempt to the attitude of mutual respect and kindly fellow-feeling. Agreement is not necessary to brotherhood, but agreement in disagreement is. Just now the official organ of the Socialistic party in the United States is making a venomous attack on the Roman Catholic Church. Whether this truly represents American Socialism or not, it certainly does not represent brotherhood. There are approximately ten million people in the United States who hold the Roman Catholic faith. That faith is entitled to respect simply because it is a genuine human experience. My brother's faith is entitled to my regard because it is the faith of a brother man.

Brotherhood means, not that all men shall possess alike, any more than that they shall think alike or be alike; but that they shall all have a common interest, because every man will be interested in his brother's prosperity. It means that the wealthy will not be satisfied in their wealth while their brethren are suffering from preventable cold, hunger, or disease. He who has and does not share, who is contented to possess and leave others uncared for in their want, is not a good Jew: "If there be one with thee a poor man, one of thy brethren, . . . thou shalt not harden thy heart nor shut thy hand from thy poor brother, but thou shalt surely open thy hand to him." He is not a good Christian: "Whoso hath this world's goods, and beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how doth the love of God abide in him?"

Brotherhood no less means that the poor man will rejoice in his neighbor's prosperity. Brotherhood levels up, never down. It inspires the strong to strengthen the weak, the wise to counsel the ignorant, the rich to aid the poor; but it never inspires the weak to weaken the strong, or the ignorant to envy the wise, or the poor to pull down the rich. The consciousness of brotherhood and class consciousness are enemies each to the other.

Brotherhood means sympathy for the lame, the blind, and the halt of the community: for the men and women of weak body who have not the physical strength to keep their place in the march, but are ever falling behind; for the men and women of weak mind—of poor taste, ill judgment, untrained intellect—who are no match in the struggle for their shrewder neighbors; for the men and women of uneducated conscience, of feeble will and strong passions, who of all life's invalids are the most pitiable and the most need hospital treatment.

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Brotherhood looks upon crime as Jesus looked upon it, as a disease to be cured; and seeks to make all punishment remedial. The spirit of brotherhood toward the criminal is always, "Brethren, even if a man be overtaken in any trespass, ye who are spiritual, restore such a one in a spirit of gentleness; looking to thyself lest thou also be tempted." Brotherhood may punish the wrong-doer, but it will punish never for revenge, always to protect society, to prevent the repetition of the wrong, and to cure, if possible, the wrong-doer.

These instances may serve to illustrate Brotherhood, not fully to describe or define it. It cannot be fully described or defined. Brotherhood is a spirit, not an opinion. Brotherhood does not have a definite plan for curing pauperism. Different men, actuated by the same spirit of brotherliness, entertain different opinions as to the best method of preventing—not merely mitigating—cold, hunger, and pestilence. Communism is not brotherhood; but a communist may belong to the brotherhood. Socialism is not brotherhood; but a Socialist may belong to the brotherhood. Individualism is not brotherhood; but an individualist may belong to the brotherhood. Brotherhood is not a system of sociology or penology. It is the spirit of humanity; the spirit that looks, not every man on his own things, but also on the things of his neighbor; it is the spirit that weeps with those that weep and rejoices with those that rejoice; it is the spirit which not only in its avowed charities, but in its industries as well, in the factory as in the church, in its acquisition as well as in its expenditure, seeks to promote the common wealth, to make this world a wiser, better, and happier world.

In so far as Socialism is an endeavor to promote the spirit of Brotherhood and pervade society by it, we welcome Socialism. In so far as it is a specific method, and involves the abolition of all service rendered in hope of personal reward, we do not welcome Socialism. In reply to the urgent call of this Socialist Conference to all ministers to "search the Scriptures and study the philosophy of Socialism, that they may see if our belief be not indeed God's very truth," we reply: The Outlook, through its editorial staff, has been pursuing this study with some care for over a quarter of a century, and its judgment is that much in the *spirit* of Socialism is derived from the teachings of Jesus Christ, but that the specific *method* proposed by the American Socialism of to-day—the abolition of industry "based upon profits as the reward of service"—is not derived from the teaching of Jesus Christ, and would be neither economically practicable nor ethically advantageous.

## *Who are the Experts?*

The Christ story, which the world loves even in its most skeptical moments, curiously relates itself to the highest moods of the spirit, and its symbolism has an interior and convincing relation with the aspirations and hopes of men. One determining element in the discovery of spiritual and moral truth is strangely overlooked in our processes of investigation, and that is purity of life and harmony with its invisible order. In every other field of knowledge we demand the most sensitive and accurate instruments of observation. The appliances which equip our laboratories are made with the nicest art and kept with the most painstaking care. Mechanism of exquisite delicacy of construction registers the faintest perturbation of earth or air; microscopes of the highest power reinforce the eye; telescopes, planted where vibration is at the minimum and clarity of air at the maximum, record the movements of stars on the far boundaries of space and analyze the fires that burn in the suns; the authority of the observer depends on the perfection of his vision; one of the foremost astronomers of the time owes his eminence to his extraordinary power of sight; physicians build great reputations on the intelligence which resides in their fingertips and the acuteness of their faculty of hearing. In all other fields of knowledge we insist on special qualifications and peculiar gifts, and insist that the expert shall keep the organs he uses in the most perfect condition. If he violates the laws of health and his hand

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loses its steadiness, his eye its clear-sighted and far-sighted vision, his ear its acuteness, we set him aside as we set aside the instrument or mechanism that has lost its perfect adjustment. When an observer falls into this condition, his authority departs, and he no longer counts among the instruments of research.

When it comes to the world of spiritual knowledge, however, where the most delicate and sensitive instruments of observation are required, we forget the tests which science has taught us and we in turn apply to science, and listen to the reports of any man or woman who lays claim to that gift of prophecy which is the knowledge of invisible things, without looking at his or her credentials. The man in the street does not assume to know astronomy, and if he did we should give him small shrift of attention; but when the same man begins to speak of things which involve rare qualities of mind and character, we listen as to an oracle. Spiritual things are spiritually discerned; men and women of spiritual genius and of moral achievements alone speak with authority on these great matters. The faculty of spiritual observation rests primarily on harmony with those laws of health which are the expression of right relations to the universe. The man who violates these laws, whatever his gifts of mind may be, is as little entitled to credence when he speaks of spiritual things as is the astronomer when his sight has failed or the physician when his hearing has become dull. The only expert in the knowledge of the spiritual order is the man who has kept his faculty of observation in the highest condition; but we take our views of life from moral invalids, from the morally insane, from those whose hands are incapable of steadiness, whose sight is a half blindness and whose hearing is a partial deafness.

There are scores of books in our libraries which assume to reveal the invisible order of life to us, to interpret that life, and to put the key to the mystery in our hands, which are mere transcriptions of temperament, reflections of moods, revelations of abnormal individual experience; and we accept these purely personal reports of moral and spiritual phenomena as if they were authoritative reflections of that vast order which reveals itself only to the sane, the humble, the pure in heart. The work of a diseased man of genius often possesses the fascination which resides in pathology, and often imparts the joy of art; but it is a personal memorandum and not a record of universal truth. The exaltation of personality, which is one of the great notes of modern as contrasted with ancient literature, and the immense emphasis on the authority of individuality in a democratic society, have given us a vast, rich literature which is of the highest importance as a disclosure of what is in man, but some of which has no authority as a revelation of what life is in its fullness, nor of man in the highest reaches of his nature. A man of genius who is insane is vastly more interesting than a commonplace lunatic, but they are both mad; and the ravings and illusions of an entire asylum do not count against the word of one sane man.

❀

# *The Spectator*

The Spectator was taking tea in a friend's room in Balliol College, discussing, in general and particular, the ninety-seven churches within the fifteen-mile radius of Oxford, and many a treasure of Norman vaulting and Early English carving within their ivy-covered walls. "There is a little church," said our host, "not forty miles west of here, of which very few people know, but which, to my mind, is one of the most interesting of them all. It certainly contains some genuine Albrecht Dürer glass, and not a little romance connected with it on account of the way in which it was obtained—captured, I believe, from a Dutch ship sailing for Spain during one of our wars with Holland."

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The chorus of interested voices resulted in an impromptu excursion, and the next afternoon saw us motoring westward along the highroad to Gloucester, on our way to the tiny village of Fairford.

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We passed through a dozen villages, each with its score of low, thatched-roofed cottages, diamond-paned, and buried in early roses to the eaves. Children playing around the doorsteps—bright bits of color framed against gray flint walls—stood suddenly silent as we passed, and the peace of the English landscape, of red-roofed village, and hedges and meadows of living green and gold, came upon us, undismayed by the strong rush of the motor. At one point we passed through a crowded market, where they were actually selling "pigs in a poke," amid a most astonishing hubbub of pigs and people; then silence again, and the green sweep of the hillsides, with their bowed trees, and the cattle standing knee-deep in the lush grass. And so through forty miles of English countryside to Fairford.

❀

It is like a hundred other villages, with pond, and pound, and "Three Horseshoes" Inn, and an old village cross—but the church is different. Originally Norman, it has been much remodeled, and now is a mere roof of stone, borne by walls of the most beautiful glass. Ten large windows fill the nave, with as many in the clerestory above, six more in the choir, and a large west window, all of exquisite line and softest coloring—and with reason, for they are Albrecht Dürer's work. The prevailing tone in several of the windows is green, shades and shades of green, a color that we had scarcely ever seen before in stained glass, but which gave a most beautiful effect.

❀

It is odd how these wondrous windows came to this little inland town. They were originally intended for a Spanish convent, and were being conveyed in a Dutch ship to Cadiz, but were captured in the narrow seas by the lord of the local manor, and, as portion of his loot, were presented by him to his tiny village church, which had to extend itself vastly to accommodate them all. They passed through yet another trial during the Reformation, when they were taken down and carefully hidden away, to be restored later, and with remarkably few pieces broken. The church is otherwise considerably damaged, all statues being broken down or mutilated, and even the carvings gashed.

❀

The old verger—oh, an *ideal* old verger!—accompanied us on our first round of inspection, and almost caused our death by his parrot-like descriptions. He would pause before each window to recollect, then strike up vigorously, "Peter with the keys, Andrew with 'is cross, James with the club with which he was 'it on the 'ead, *hand* St. John with 'is heagle," or, simply, "'Osea, Joel, Amos, *hand* Malachi." The Roman Emperors who occupied the clerestory had become, through much reiteration, a mere jumble of words, similar to a childishly learned list of the tribes of American Indians, and "'Hasuerus" was described as "lookin' on hat the herection of Mordecai's galluses." At one of the windows he became entirely confused, and came to only at the last panel—"*hand* the doubting Thomas." The doubting Thomas was quite evidently a lady kneeling in a garden, and even he saw that something was wrong. "Begging your pardon, sirs, the doubting Thomas is the next one, sirs," and then—a moment's hesitation—"Mary in the parlor, Martha in the kitchen, the resurrection of Lazarus, *hand* the Woman of Samaria." Nice old man, but with rheumatics badly, and a kinky memory.

❀

The Spectator and his friends came back by evening, buzzing through the little villages, in the cool, slowly darkening English twilight, to a delayed dinner in the great hall.

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# Public Opinion

### THE PRESIDENT AND THE CAMPAIGN

In your issue of September 19 you published, with apparent approval, a letter from President Roosevelt to a Mr. Kohrs, which was manifestly designed for a campaign document, and which is being so used. Since then the President has published other letters of similar purport and for the same purpose. Now, remembering some of the President's previous performances, his course in this matter will create but little surprise in the minds of many; but The Outlook's indorsement of such a course *is* surprising to the point of astonishment.

You say that the letter of Mr. Kohrs, to which the President replies, "was called forth by the statement of Mr. Bryan that he is the President's heir and natural successor." But the President's letter, instead of refuting Mr. Bryan's statement, barely touches it, being devoted entirely to a eulogy of Mr. Taft and an exhaustive argument in favor of his election. Moreover, if Mr. Bryan's statement was false, should not Mr. Taft himself or his Committee or some other suitable person have refuted it? One may conceive that the President had a right to unbosom himself thus to a personal friend in answer to that friend's inquiries. But when we read that the letter was "made public by the President," we must conclude that this was done in order to win votes for Mr. Taft by the weight of the President's official influence. In other words, the President of the United States has openly entered into the campaign as a partisan politician.

Now, it is understood, of course, that the President was elected as a Republican and that he was expected while in office to carry out the policies of his party. But some of us had supposed that, once elected and inaugurated, our President was debarred by his high office as President of all the people from participating actively in a partisan campaign. Occasionally when certain United States officials have been removed from office the reason publicly assigned for their removal was "pernicious political activity." Shall our President himself lead the way in this matter, and then oust a Solicitor or Postmaster for following his illustrious example? Moreover, if the President may properly write letters of this kind and publish them for partisan use, why may he not with equal propriety take the stump in behalf of the candidate or candidates of his choice? Would The Outlook approve of such a course? If not (and I assume that it would not), how can it indorse the President's campaigning by letter-writing?

I believe that the President, with characteristic heat, has denied having used his official position to force Mr. Taft's nomination. Passing by the notorious fact that in a number of Southern States, at least, the Republican conventions were controlled by United States office-holders, and Taft delegates were chosen after visits from one or more Cabinet officers and consultations with them, and the scarcely less notorious fact that in one if not more of these States it was pretty well known that the office-holders were themselves originally opposed to Mr. Taft's nomination, we must admit the President's statement that all this was without his knowledge or contrivance. But why should he be indignant at the circulation of such rumors? Why should he not have forced the nomination by the use of his office? What is the difference between the President's using his office to nominate a successor and using it to elect that successor after his nomination? Does The Outlook believe it to be in accordance with the spirit of our Constitution for a President to prostitute his high position to the end of securing the successor of his choice? If he may, what limit should be set to this practice? And how far removed is such a practice from entailing office by the will of a dictator?

One of the evils of the President's course has already appeared as a natural if not a necessary result. After writing the letters, it seems that he allowed himself to be quoted in an interview as making an attack on the personal character of one of our Governors. Next came from a company of distinguished and prominent gentlemen a public challenge of the President's statements, which seemed to compel him to change his point of attack; and this in turn was followed by a reply from the Governor concerned, virtually charging the President with criminal ignorance and falsehood. What a sorry plight for the President of a great country!

The point of this protest, be it remembered, is not the question of Mr. Taft's fitness for the Presidency. It may be conceded for the present purpose that he should be our next President. Nor is this statement meant to be a defense of Governor Haskell. Admit, if you will, that the President's charges are well founded. The point is, should the President of the United States



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prostitute his office to the ends of partisan politics?

R. T. VANN.

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Office of the President.

[We radically differ from these views of the function of the President. As an executive he represents, of course, all the people of the country, and no single political party. As an administrator of the law he is bound to see that every man, without regard to political theories, receives impartial justice. But, politically speaking, we think the President of the United States has a prime-ministerial function as well as the purely Presidential function. He has not only the right but the duty to lead his party and to mold public opinion by speeches and messages as well as in conferences with citizens and Government officials. In The Outlook for September 26 we pointed out that President Woodrow Wilson, of Princeton University, himself a Democrat and a Southerner, holds this view in his volume on "Constitutional Government in the United States." To determine what part a President or a Governor shall take in a political campaign is a question entirely of personal taste. Governor Hughes has been rightly applauded for leaving Albany and making a series of effective speeches in opposition to the election of a legislator who would support race-track gambling. President Roosevelt has both the legal and moral right to take the stump if he so chooses. The propriety of his doing so is to be determined by the exigency which calls upon him, by the principles which actuate him, and by his manner of expressing those principles. The part which Mr. Roosevelt has played thus far in the Presidential campaign seems to us to have been imposed upon him by the exigencies of the case, and to have been well performed.—THE EDITORS.]

### *DISCRIMINATION IN VOTING*

In every issue you give excellent answers to the question whether men should vote for Taft or Bryan. For the past twelve years Mr. Bryan has been occupied in talking. He does it extremely well; better, I think, than any of the Republicans, if we except Governor Hughes's speech at Youngstown. For the past eight years Mr. Taft has been doing administrative duty, and he does it extremely well. We have had a good deal of both forms of activity at the White House in the last seven years. But if we have to make a choice, it is the power to do administrative work which is most important there. In respect to this, the President's chief function, I believe that Mr. Taft is abler and better equipped than any President that we have had since John Quincy Adams, and with a gift of harmonious co-operation with the other departments of government which was denied to Adams—and also to President Roosevelt.

All this seems rather easy argument to most intelligent men whom I meet, and apparently the voters are likely to elect Mr. Taft on these and other grounds. But from this you always slide easily into the position that it is advisable for the voter to vote the whole Republican ticket. I should like to see a fuller defense on your part of the proposition that it is desirable that the next House of Representatives should be Republican. What has been the course of recent Republican Houses? Have they heartily supported and eagerly carried through those measures of legislation which you applaud, or have they made just so much concession to the public desire for control of corporations and for other reforms as they were reluctantly forced to make, by pressure exerted upon them through the unbounded personal popularity of President Roosevelt? We cannot expect that Mr. Taft will have all that force behind him. Why, we may ask ourselves, do men in 1908 so frequently speak of the desire and ability to carry through appropriate legislation, as if they were the main qualifications of a President of the United States? Legislation is the business of Congress. Power to carry through legislative measures of reform becomes a leading qualification of the President only when he is confronted by a legislature which is not willing to execute reforms, and must be compelled to do so by the personal influence of a great executive leader. If the next House is Republican, does any one doubt that it will elect Mr. Cannon as Speaker—the narrowest and most commonplace intellect to which the American people have ever given such influence and power as he exercises, the contemptuous foe of all serious reforms? Does any one doubt that he will once more appoint Mr. Payne Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means? Does any one doubt that a Republican House will continue to be under the control of Messrs. Cannon, Dalzell, Payne, and such leaders? This being the case, can we suppose that the prospects of reform are increased if the next House is in the control of what is confessedly the more efficient party but managed by such leaders? Or are they better if it is in the charge of a party which, in spite of ineffective organization, less legislative intelligence, and considerable discord, is represented in Congress by men who on the whole have more real sympathy with the

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human race, and whose personal and political interests are less frequently allied to those of the corporations whom we wish to see subjected to control?

I do not appreciate all the reasons which make you and others think that the regulation of corporations is a more important interest to the mass of American mankind than the reduction of the tariff. I should suppose that the present high tariff was our most fruitful source of political corruption and industrial oppression. But I will not ask you whether a Republican House will reform the tariff any farther than it is compelled to do. I ask you whether the very measures of reform that you put foremost will not certainly be considered by it with reluctance and "burked" if possible; and whether the prospects, slight at best, that any serious reforms will get through the still more reluctant Senate are not likely to be greater when pressure is exerted by the superior earnestness of a Democratic House?

J.

[We are not conscious of ever having advised the voter to vote the whole Republican ticket. We agree with our correspondent that Mr. Taft's administrative record and the political doctrines which he professes make him a much better equipped man for the Presidency than Mr. Bryan. Generally speaking, if the voter wishes a certain definite policy carried out by the Federal Government, and supports a Presidential candidate for that end, he will desire to have a National Legislature elected which will also support that candidate. But it appears to us exceedingly unintelligent to lay down as an inflexible rule that he who is going to vote for Mr. Taft must therefore vote for a Republican Representative in Congress, or for a State Legislature which will elect a Republican Senator. It is quite clear at this writing that Mr. Taft himself does not advise this course. He is evidently opposed to the election of Mr. Foraker as a Senator from Ohio, though Mr. Foraker has always considered himself and has been considered by his colleagues and his constitutents as a Republican. But he is a Republican who is opposed to the Administration's policies, and specifically opposed to Government regulation of the railways. Mr. Taft is in favor of the Administration's policies, and specifically in favor of Government regulation of railways. The sovereignty of government over the corporations which are creatures of government seems to us to be axiomatic in political philosophy, but it has not been regarded as axiomatic in political practice. It is true that a high tariff has a tendency to increase the power of the trusts. One way to reduce the power of the corporations which threaten to become sovereign is to reduce the tariff, but the mere reduction of tariff rates unaccompanied with the effective assertion of Government sovereignty will not have the effect to bring the inter-State railways under the control of the Nation. Those holding the opinion, as we do, that governmental sovereignty over corporations is the paramount issue in this campaign will prefer to vote for a Congressman who believes in governmental sovereignty and the protective system rather than for one who believes in tariff reform and the industrial doctrines of the *laissez faire* school.—THE EDITORS.]

## *THE GEORGIA CONVICT LEASE LAW*

The reputation of The Outlook for accuracy and fairness in its presentation of public matters is too valuable, I am sure, to suffer through its correspondents, who may not in every instance be temperamentally so well equipped for accuracy as its editors.

The article on "The Convict Lease System in Georgia," by A. J. McKelway, in your recent issue is a case in point. I beg to correct a very manifest bias in his account toward those with whom he has so recently been enlisted and against those toward whom he has so recently occupied a position of opposition in a political contest in Georgia.

The history of the convict lease system in Georgia is a matter of common knowledge. That the convict lease system in our State could in any sense play a part as a political issue is the afterthought of the State primary election in which Governor Hoke Smith was defeated by the Hon. Joseph M. Brown.

It was not an issue in that campaign. It was not mentioned by Governor Smith either in his platform or his numerous speeches. Mr. McKelway draws a biased bow in his disposition to make Governor Smith and his friends the heroes and Joseph M. Brown and his friends the villains in the tragedy of the convict lease system.

Mr. McKelway rather adroitly seeks to create the impression that the convict lessees contributed largely to the campaign fund of Mr. Brown. This is untrue, and in the very teeth of the affidavit filed by the successful candidate under the rules prescribed by the Democratic State Committee. He also seeks to leave the impression that all those interested in hiring convicts supported Mr. Brown. This is also untrue; as in the case of other citizens, they were divided upon that question. For instance, of the two legislators criticised—Messrs. West and Brock—

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it is a fact that the former supported Mr. Brown and the latter voted for Governor Smith. The same is true as to the partnership referred to by him between Colonel West, one of Georgia's foremost citizens, and Dr. Holmes, of Valdosta, Georgia, a most excellent gentleman and a distinguished physician and surgeon. Mr. West supported Mr. Brown, and Dr. Holmes supported Governor Smith.

At the outset Mr. McKelway says that "the convict lease system is an inheritance" from the period of Reconstruction. He assigns it to General Ruger and the "scalawag Governor Bullock." When the writer comes into the atmosphere of the recent campaign, he refers to Joseph M. Brown as the son of the former Governor "who made the convict lease in 1874." The unfairness of that reference is as inaccurate as its bias is apparent. The father of the present gubernatorial candidate did not *make* the lease of 1874. He was not Governor of Georgia in 1874, as the statement would imply. Nor was he Governor in 1876, when the Act was passed and the convicts again leased. The Hon. J. M. Smith was then Governor, and it is a well-known fact that he and ex-Governor Brown were not on good terms.

The Legislature of 1876 renewed the lease of convicts because the old lease had expired. There was no opposition to its renewal, and therefore the statement that ex-Governor Brown "was active in securing" the renewal of the lease carries an intended implication of venality which the simple history of the fact does not justify, especially in its suggestion of relation between the convict lease system and the recently successful candidate for Governor.

Georgia's method of handling its convicts has been a responsibility shared by all her Governors and legislators.

This statement is as true of Governor Hoke Smith as of others. In all his campaigns, in all his inaugural addresses and messages to the General Assembly prior to the recent investigation, Governor Hoke Smith accepted the convict system without protest or complaint. His declaration in his recent Message to the present Legislature, even after the matter was in agitation, was that he had nothing to recommend in its stead.

The long continuance of the Georgia convict lease system is therefore the sin of no one man or set of men, and its reform will be the virtue of no one man or set of men.

The convention which nominated Joseph M. Brown for Governor, June 23, 1908, did declare against the convict system. It was the first Democratic Convention ever to do so in Georgia. But it was not at the instance of Colonel Pendleton, as Mr. McKelway states. Colonel Pendleton has for years, with the writer hereof and other Georgians, opposed the system of leasing and hiring convicts to private individuals, and his position was well known.

The suggestion of the plank protesting the system in the platform of the Democratic State Convention did not, however, originate with him. The suggestion of this first convention edict against convict leasing in Georgia came from an influential Baptist minister, Dr. John E. White, of Atlanta, the pastor of Governor-elect Brown, who afterwards preached a strong sermon against it. The plank was drawn in its final strong statement by the Hon. Hewlett A. Hall, of Newnan, Georgia, in collaboration with others, and it was in keeping with the ascertained convictions of the Governor-elect, Mr. Brown, and his friends, including ex-Governor Terrell and Colonel Pendleton. It was unanimously adopted by the Convention. This was the beginning of the public agitation against the system in Georgia, and the unbiased historian will give the platform of the Convention nominating Joseph M. Brown credit for contributing more towards its abolition than any other factor. The first effective blow at the system was struck in 1903, during Governor Terrell's administration, when convicts with sentences not exceeding five years were placed upon the public roads.

I beg also to say that Mr. McKelway's reference to ex-Governor Terrell, who, as Attorney-General of the State, had acted as attorney of the "Convict King" in a dispute with another of the lessees, is not a true statement in letter or spirit. In 1899, while Attorney-General, when the convict system of Georgia was the long-accepted method of handling the convicts, he acted in a friendly way in settling a personal dispute which had arisen between two parties hiring convicts. The State not having any interest in this private controversy between these parties, it would have been entirely proper, under the law, for him to have acted as the attorney of either of them, but this he did not do. The differences were trivial and easily adjusted. When offered a fee for this kindly service, he promptly declined it. This is the sworn evidence in all the testimony given that in any way coupled his name with the convict lease investigation.

Mr. McKelway's criticism of the Prison Commission does an injustice to General Evans and the other two members. The prison commissioners, while censured by the investigating committee for acts of omission in connection with the discharge of their

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official duties, were exonerated by the investigating committee of all misfeasance or malfeasance, and this report was made without examining any of the numerous witnesses offered by them.

BENJ. M. BLACKBURN.

Atlanta, Georgia.

### CHRISTIAN BROTHERHOOD

On June 18, 1906, a Christian Socialist Fellowship was organized in Louisville, Kentucky, having for its object "to show that Socialism is the Economic Expression of the Religious Life; to end the Class Struggle by establishing Industrial Democracy, and to hasten the reign of Justice and Brotherhood upon earth." Under the auspices of this organization the following declaration of faith has been issued to the clergy and churches of America signed by 162 clergymen of different denominations and from different States:

Greeting:

Brethren: We who are ministers to congregations of various denominations hereby declare our adherence to the object of the Ministers' Socialist Conference, which is:

1. To permeate Churches, Denominations, and other Religious Institutions with the Social Message of the Bible; to show that Socialism is the Economic Expression of the Religious Life; to end the Class Struggle by establishing Industrial Democracy, and to hasten the reign of Justice and Brotherhood upon earth.

2. We believe that the Economic Teaching of the Scriptures would find its fulfillment in the Co-operative Commonwealth of Modern Socialism.

3. We believe that the present social system, based as it is upon the sin of covetousness, makes the ethical life as inculcated by religion impracticable; and should give place to a social system founded on the "Golden Rule," and the "Royal Law" of the Kingdom of God, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," which, realized under the Co-operative Commonwealth of Socialism, will create an environment favorable to the practice of the Religious Life.

4. We accordingly urge with utmost earnestness that all our brethren in the ministry, and the people in all Churches, search the Scriptures and study the philosophy of Socialism, that they may see if our belief be not indeed God's very truth.

The Society also sends out a declaration of faith which may be regarded as somewhat more specifically defining what is meant by Socialism in this manifesto. Such definition is afforded by the following sentences:

The operation and distribution of production by the people and for the people. It is a law of the kingdom of heaven, a fundamental principle of Christ's teaching, that service is its own reward. A system based upon profits as the reward of service, upon wages as the reward of labor, is directly opposed to this fundamental law. A profit-making system also degrades labor from its true dignity, destroys its freedom and joy, and compels the laborer to become the economic serf of the profit-maker in order to earn his daily bread. Service, to be Christian, must be voluntary and free. Men must be equal in privileges, opportunities, and the government of their affairs in order to be brothers, Christians, and lovers one of another.

We give here to our readers this item of news without other comment than an editorial on another page, in which we give our own interpretation of the meaning of Christian Brotherhood.—THE EDITORS.

### BELIEF IN A SPECIAL DIVINE PROVIDENCE

Having the pleasure of hearing Dr. Thomas preach (he has recently been called to the presidency of Middlebury College, Vermont), I was forcibly reminded of a story that Dr. Cyrus Hamlin was very fond of telling, the incidents narrated in which occurred in connection with Dr. Hamlin's call to the presidency of the same college in 1880, when he was in his seventieth year.

Dr. Hamlin had just resigned from the chair of Theology in the Bangor Theological Seminary (where he had been three years), as the trustees intimated to him that the Seminary needed a younger man.

He was spending a day or two with his nephew in Portland, Maine. They two were seated upon the upper piazza, on the summer evening, reading the daily papers, when rather suddenly the nephew threw down his paper, exclaiming with emphasis, "Uncle, I do not believe in a special divine providence." "Why not?" asked Mr. Hamlin. "Well," replied the nephew, "take your own case, for instance. Here you are; you have given more than forty years of your life to hard, persevering work for missions in Turkey, having relinquished all the comforts of civilization, and devoting your best energies for every good cause, with a zeal and efficiency that has caused your name to be known and honored the world over; and yet here you are at the age of seventy, discredited, cast off, a derelict upon society, and, not having been able to save anything for a rainy day, you are without a competency, and evidently there is nothing left for you but to go to the poorhouse to end your days; while thousands, who never think of anything outside of or above themselves, are rolling in luxuries and wealth. In the face of such a concrete example, do you wonder that I state with emphasis that I do not believe in a special divine providence? If there is such a thing, or being, why are you where you are? Surely if anybody ever deserved to be taken care of as old age advanced, you are such a one, if I am any judge." Dr. Hamlin tried to argue the case on general principles, explaining how unjust it was to attempt to draw conclusions respecting a general law from one concrete example,

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however strong that case might be, but with little success. In a few minutes they retired to rest for the night, engaging to rise early the next morning and get their own breakfast, as the other members of the family were away for the summer. The nephew said that he would stand for the steak, and Dr. Hamlin could prepare the coffee, as he was noted in that direction.

While thus employed in the morning the front door bell rang, and the nephew said, "Uncle, you look out for the steak and I will teach the grocery men to come round to the other door. They know the family is away and that they have no business to come to the front door at any season of the year." As the nephew went to the door, Dr. Hamlin, listening with one ear, heard a gentleman inquire whether Dr. Cyrus Hamlin was there; and, going to the door in response to that query, he met Dr. Lambert, of Rupert, Vermont. Dr. Lambert requested half an hour's conference with him, and, as Dr. Hamlin could not invite him to breakfast there, they arranged for a meeting an hour later at the station, as Dr. Lambert had to take an early train for home.

That evening found Dr. Hamlin and his nephew upon the same upper piazza, reading, as before, the daily papers. Before long the nephew, recalling the events of the morning, said, "And what did that traveler want of you this morning, uncle? I presume he was either a book agent or a lightning-rod man, though you have no money with which to purchase books, and much less any house that should need a lightning-rod." "Oh," replied the uncle, "it was Dr. Lambert, from Rupert, Vermont." "But that is not answering my question," said the nephew; "I asked what he wanted of you? And, by the way, how in the world did he know that you were here?" "Oh," said Dr. Hamlin, "I presume that Mrs. Hamlin told him where I was; and he only offered me the Presidency of Middlebury College." "And pray what salary did he promise that they would pay you, uncle?" "Well, two thousand dollars and a home," was the reply, spoken in an indifferent tone and nonchalant manner. "And did you accept the offer, uncle?" "Yes," replied Dr. Hamlin; "you see, I considered that rather preferable to eking out my days in the poorhouse, all things considered." After a short pause the nephew said, in a very confident tone of voice, "Well, uncle, I believe in a special divine providence."

Dr. Hamlin went to Middlebury College, infused new life into the institution, and after five years of most active and useful services, at the age of seventy-five, retired from the presidency, against the urgent protests of the Trustees of the College.

After retiring from Middlebury College, Dr. Hamlin settled for the remaining fifteen years of his life at Lexington, Massachusetts, where a suitable home was most providentially furnished him through the generosity of his friends. And one of the happiest experiences that he had during the last months of his earthly pilgrimage was his attending the Centennial Celebration of Middlebury College, in June, 1900, as one of the honored guests. He was very proud of the ovation accorded him, and especially of the applause which greeted him as he declined the carriage provided for him and insisted upon walking with the procession on that occasion. Surely goodness and mercy followed him even down to old age, and his hoary head was honored by a special divine providence till he went to dwell in the House of the Lord forever.

W. H. VAIL.

Newark, New Jersey.

### *A REQUEST*

[The following letter from Mr. Bigelow to Dr. Lyman Abbott is of interest in itself, and we hope its publication may bring from some reader the information sought.—THE EDITORS.]

It was my privilege to attend a free-trade meeting at the Cooper Institute in November or December, 1883, and to hear a remarkable speech of the late Henry Ward Beecher on that subject, of which for special reasons I am very anxious to procure a copy. As you were Mr. Beecher's successor in his church in Brooklyn, and I believe one of his most intimate friends, it has occurred to me that you possibly might put me in the way of finding a copy of that speech, if it was ever printed, or naming to me some person most likely to have preserved one. Perhaps you can tell me the kinsmen or women who inherited his papers and were his literary executors. If any survive, they must have received a copy of that address, if ever published. David A. Wells, Professor Sumner, of Yale College, and Henry Watterson, of Kentucky, all made admirable speeches on the same occasion. It would seem strange if none of them were preserved at the time in pamphlet form. I think I would give more for a copy of that speech for my personal use than for the lost chapters of Livy.

JOHN BIGELOW.

21 Gramercy Park, New York.

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# HOW WE ELECT A PRESIDENT

## BY ROBERT D. TOWNSEND

"DO you mean to say," asked the boy, "that the man who gets the most votes isn't always made President?"

"Yes; and what is more, if a candidate has a proved plurality of only one vote in Pennsylvania, he gets that State's thirty-four electoral votes; while if his opponent has a plurality of twenty thou sand in Utah, he gets only three electoral votes."

"Well, why don't we change the system, then?"

"Simply because we are satisfied with it as it is!"

It is literally but not substantially true that the American President is chosen by the Presidential Electors of the several States; it is essentially true that he is elected by the voters themselves. Yet not only may it happen, as it has more than once, that an unsuccessful candidate may be favored by a larger number of votes, the country over, than his successful opponent, but it may also come about that the choice shall devolve upon the lower branch of Congress, and the decision there be made, not by a plurality of members' votes, but by a majority of the States, voting as States—one vote to a State. Is the present electoral system, then, adequate and satisfactory? It does not do what the founders of the Constitution intended; neither does it with certainty make President the man wanted by a greater number of legal voters than of those who want some one else. A foreigner studying the institutions of the United States might think this bare statement conclusive, and wonder that the political world was not excitedly discussing an immediate reconstruction of the electoral system. In point of fact, no one is at all disturbed, and the probabilities of a change in the near future are slight. The reason is something more than the inertia which must be overcome, and the tediousness and complexity of all Constitutional amendment; it is the fact that practically the system works very well; the will of the people, broadly speaking, is done.

There are two entirely different kinds of criticism brought against the plan of choosing the President through the Electoral Colleges—one is that it is antiquated and cumbrous, the other is that it may sometimes defeat the wish of the majority of the voters of the Nation. To take up the latter point first, the strongest evidence that the people at large still accept the check put on the direct popular vote by the Constitution is that so little anger has been aroused when the result has been contrary to the popular vote. In 1888 Mr. Cleveland's plurality over General Harrison was nearly a hundred thousand votes, but there was no flaming up of indignation on this point, nor any protest made against the fairness of General Harrison's election—if grumbling there was, it was neither loud nor long continued. And in 1876, amid all the counter-cries of violence and fraud, the assertion that electors were being tempted to sell votes, and the talk about stealing States, hardly any attention was paid to the fact that Mr. Tilden had an admitted popular plurality of over a quarter of a million votes. Still less importance, of course, was attached, far back in 1824, to the defeated Jackson's popular plurality over the elected Adams. One might expect, in these days of agitation for the direct election of United States Senators, that there would be at least equal clamor for the direct election of the President, for the inauguration of the man who polled the most votes. Not at all—probably not as much discussion takes place on this point as on proportional representation, which is certainly not yet a very live issue. And this is not because it has been so rare an event that a candidate should have a plurality and yet be defeated—three times out of twenty-nine is not such a low percentage; it is because the people tacitly accept the idea that the States as States should have an influence in the Presidential election.



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We may smile at the exaggerated fears of the Fathers of the Constitution, and we may be broad-minded as one pleases about a strong central Government, yet we are not in a hurry to take down the slight bar against placing sweeping power in the possession of a mere plurality of voters. How feeling has changed as to the danger from a tyrannical executive may be seen when we remember that Patrick Henry actually refused to take part in the Constitutional Convention because he was "filled with apprehension lest the new Constitution should destroy State sovereignty and concentrate a fearful power in the hands of the chief magistrate." It may be that, in the future, if the choice of Presidents without a plurality should be frequent, the public mind might become irritated on this point, but it certainly is not disturbed at present. If ever it is, we may be sure that a way will be found to meet the difficulty. The American political method is, not to worry over theoretical discrepancies, but, when a real purpose takes form and strength in the National mind, to carry it out by the nearest practical method; thus, when the voters in some States determined to have the choice of United States Senators taken out of the Legislature and submitted to the voters, the direct primary was put into operation, and, for illustration, we see in Kansas the choice between Bristow and Long as the Republican candidate made after a hot campaign by the party voters themselves at the primaries, while for all practical purposes the Legislature has only to make the decision of legal effect.

But if, at a National election, a third party were to gain such strength as to carry a number of States and thereby prevent either of the other candidates from securing an absolute majority of the electoral votes, and if in the House of Representatives a majority of States, counted simply as States and not in proportion to their size or population, should then make a choice unacceptable to the people at large, then undoubtedly an agitation for a reform would make its appearance. But the fact that this has never happened, that for fifty years only three times have there been counted any electoral votes for other than the two leading candidates, indicates the remoteness of the likelihood of any such crisis. How little the figures of the popular vote were regarded as of real consequence in the early days is shown by the fact that no reliable statistics on this point exist previous to 1824, and there is doubt as to the correctness of some of the later figures. Nothing on the political horizon indicates the slightest probability that three-fourths of the States will ever favor an amendment establishing a direct vote for President without any intervening machinery, for to do so would reduce their political consequence as States materially.

As to the other criticisms against our electoral system—that it does not do what its institutors intended, and that it is cumbrous—it may be replied that the first is true but of no consequence, the second not essentially well founded. Certainly nothing is further from the ideal the Constitution's makers had in mind than the present automatic machinery of the Electoral Colleges. Says James Bryce: "No part of their scheme seems to have been regarded by the Constitution-makers of 1787 with more complacency than this. . . . No part has so utterly belied their expectations. The Presidential electors have become a mere cog-wheel in the machine." And George William Curtis rather sadly observes: "The electors have become mere machines, living automata. . . . They exercise no choice, no judgment, no volition of their own. . . . The constitutional function of the electors is wholly gone, lost it may be irretrievably." It is to be hoped that this last prediction is a sound one. Nothing could be further from present-day ideas than to imagine the thousand or more electors taking up in their own body, and without any indication at the polls of the wishes of the great body of voters, the grave question, Who is to be the next President? No! The party method is the only feasible method to-day, and each party will continue to insist on naming its candidates through its own State and National conventions.

The fact is that our forefathers were much puzzled with the question of the chief magistracy, and their way out of

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the difficulty was ingenious and well balanced in theory, but failed to take human nature into account. They didn't want a tyrant, they didn't want a mere presiding officer, although they did in the end take the word President (which had been used in a few of the colonial governments instead of Governor), and they did want most of all to have the selection of the chief magistrate made by a considerable body of weighty citizens, who should stand apart from Congress and perhaps act as a buffer between the dangers of mob rule and those of autocrat rule. To be sure, some of them were willing to dub the President "His Highness the President of the United States and Protector of their Liberties," and "High Mightiness" was also suggested as a form of address; but these proposals, made in perfect good faith, like Rufus King's sarcastic recommendation that the President's term of office should be "twenty years, the medium life of princes," were mere vagaries. The serious view taken has been most succinctly stated by Mr. Bryce: "To have left the choice of the chief magistrate to a direct popular vote over the whole country would have raised a dangerous excitement, and would have given too much encouragement to candidates of merely popular gifts. To have intrusted it to Congress would have not only subjected the executive to the legislature in violation of the principle which requires these departments to be kept distinct, but have tended to make him the creature of one particular faction instead of the choice of the nation. Hence the device of a double election was adopted."

The impracticability of the scheme so far as making the Electoral Colleges the real nominators of the Presidents soon showed itself. The universal reverence for George Washington made his election and re-election acts of patriotism, and, whatever mean jealousy or partisan hatred lay beneath the surface of politics, none was allowed to get into the open or clog the brand-new electoral machine. But with the sharpening of party enmities it became a political necessity to know beforehand how the State electors were to vote. By 1796 there was a general understanding as to this, and in 1800, when the fierce Jefferson-Burr fight was on, the parties carried on the campaign with their candidates' names to the front and a perfect belief that the electors would know the will of the people who voted for them (or of the legislatures who appointed them), and comply therewith. The intermediate state between actual freedom of the elector to do as he chose, and nominal freedom but real responsibility to the party's wish, is illustrated by the fact that in 1796 one Virginian elector voted against Jefferson, who was undoubtedly Virginia's choice for the Presidency, and that even in 1800 North Carolina clung to the original plan and divided its electoral vote between Jefferson and Adams. In neither case was any charge of dishonorable conduct made. By 1832 all the States were choosing their Presidential electors by direct vote, and no such elector even dreamed of marring his honor by breaking faith. From the beginning there never has been a charge that a Presidential elector has sold his vote; even in the terrible stress of the Tilden-Hayes contest, while it was charged that efforts were made to buy over one or more electors, it was not asserted that any such bargain was ever consummated by the "delivery of the goods." There are, however, two instances of electors using their votes otherwise than as apparently dictated by party; the first was in 1820, when one Monroe elector voted for John Quincy Adams in order (there being no real opposition to Monroe) that no one but George Washington might go down in history as having been elected President by a unanimous vote; the other in 1892, when in North Dakota the Populists had two electoral votes and the Democrats one. The people of the new State desired that Cleveland, Harrison, and Weaver should each have one vote, and accordingly, at the wish of their State party, one of the two Populist votes was cast for Cleveland.

But although the respected gentlemen who pledge themselves beforehand to do their party's will, if chosen Presidential Electors, now are in a way automata, they still form a useful institution.

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If we are not to have a direct vote for President, with all State boundary lines forgot—and nothing is more certain than that as yet we do not want this—there must be some machinery whereby the will of each State must be expressed in the ratio of its importance as indicated by its total representation in Congress—that being the proportion of influence laid down originally by the Constitution and reaffirmed by the Twelfth Amendment. This is precisely what the Electoral College does—by the way, the best-recognized usage calls the electors of a single State, collectively, an Electoral College, and the Electors of all the States, taken together, the Electoral Colleges. The system is really not complicated as compared with the thing to be accomplished, and in practice it works smoothly, easily, and well. If it is ever abolished, it will not be because the Electors have a sinecure, but because parties shall have increased in number and have become relatively nearly equal. The worst test the system ever had was when the Electors were really free agents—in 1800, when Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr had the same number of votes, not because the electors who voted for Burr expected to make him President, but because the then unamended Constitution instructed the electors to cast *two* votes for President, the man receiving the highest number of all the votes to be President, the man receiving the next highest to be Vice-President. This threw the choice into the House, which balloted thirty-six times (some States' votes were not counted because their representatives in Congress were equally divided) before the Burr forces were beaten and he was left with the stigma of having made an unfair attempt to grasp the Presidency. Under the present system, adopted because of this experience, and under the legislation which followed the fight of 1876 and made the State courts the judges of the validity of the election of the respective State electoral colleges, the danger points seem to be pretty thoroughly guarded. The theorists who think they can make a better plan on paper for electing a President than that now in use are rarely heard from, and it would take a political cataclysm based on a real and great wrong to excite the people into a demand for change.

It is sometimes asked, How much of our way of electing Presidents comes from the Constitution, how much from Congressional enactment, how much from State law, how much from party institutions? It is true that each of these agencies has power. The outline of the plan is in the original clause of the Constitution; the Twelfth Amendment, which became law in 1804, directed the method of counting the votes in presence of the Senate and House, and the procedure for the choice of the President by the House if the electoral vote shows no choice; the States still have their original power of directing how the electors shall be chosen—New York *might*, for instance, if it wished, have its Legislature choose the electors; Congress has passed half a dozen supplementary statutes now obsolete, and was called upon in 1878 to found an Electoral Commission as the only way out of a struggle that threatened political chaos—if not, as some thought, civil war; the Act of Congress of 1888 fixes the date when the electors of each State shall meet, allows the legality of their election to be decided in case of dispute by the State courts, fixes the method by which the certificates shall be forwarded to Washington, the precise method of opening and counting the vote and of declaring the result, and directs what shall be done in case of two or more conflicting returns from one State. Finally, the parties have the unofficial but imperative duty of making the election possible by their nominating conventions, of selecting and pledging the State electors, and of seeing that the party interests are looked after in the campaign and at the polls. With all this fourfold machinery, one singular omission has been made—there is no provision for notifying the President-elect of the honor which has been conferred upon him, so far as Congress and the laws are concerned; he must find it out by chance, and wend his way to the Capitol to take the oath of office without direction or request from any one. His inaugural address is also based on custom and not required

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by law; the first address of Washington received the honor of a respectful reply by Congress, but this did not become a precedent.

Of the part played by the people themselves in the election of the President we are just now having our quadrennial exhibition. A Japanese writer, Masuji Miyakawa, who has written a very good book in rather odd English about American institutions, gives this quaint description: "The American people study the political problems of national and international importance in their four years' school of politics, and submit to at least one hundred days of examination of their proficiency in hard study. . . . Some pray the Almighty to lend them a helping hand if their study of practical humanity has been mistaken. Some are commonly called 'rings' which consist of those persons who from patriotic (?) reasons associate themselves and solicit others to associate with them, for the justification of certain principles they think best. Some are named 'bosses,' whose business it is to oversee party affairs on Presidential election days."

Not only the argument of platform positions but the disposition of political forces must be compressed into brief space. Not until mid-July this year were the candidates and their views before the public, and the month of October really sees far the principal part of the fight—the circulation of scores of tons of printed material, the organization of great parades, the occasional explosion of a "roorback," the fuss and fury and excited clamor. The chairman of a National Committee must not only be long-headed but quick-moving; his tactics must be aggressive and sharp, with no chance for Fabian delays. On the money side alone he has to see that the sum at his disposal is divided so as to bring about the best effect in doubtful districts, and that the attack is delivered on the enemy's front, and little effort wasted in vain boasting and self-glorification in "sure" States. This money is spent for legitimate purposes, it is needless to say—the days when the purchase of votes in a Presidential campaign was a large factor have gone, if they ever existed. What a responsibility rests on a chairman as to money alone may be judged from the fact that a conservative estimate of the contributions to the two great parties in 1904 puts the sum at six and a half million dollars. This year the effect of law and of voluntary restriction by the parties and candidates is, according to all accounts, making the funds comparatively small. All the more urgency, therefore, exists in drawing from the treasure-chests with good judgment. The organization of a Presidential campaign is in a perfectly honest sense a big business, and it has to be brought into being, "worked for all it's worth," and closed up while ordinary business men might be debating over their terms of partnership.

So, with close calculation on the one hand and buoyant enthusiasm on the other, the programme is carried out; the candidates expound, the spell-binders exhort, the whirlwind oratory and the cart-tail stump-speaking are heard in the land; the presses groan with campaign text-books, printed speeches, official ballots, and warnings against the enemy's devices; the torchlights flare and the banners wave; and after an immense deal of partly factitious excitement, as well as of serious debate, about fourteen million citizens go quietly to the polls on the Tuesday after the first Monday in November (the date was fixed by Congress in 1845, and was taken from the practice in New York) and cast their votes for a list of electors whose names they could not repeat to save their lives, in the secure confidence that these gentlemen will act as their agents to elect as President, and therefore as "the first citizen of a free nation," the great statesman their hearts desire and their judgments approve.

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# THE THOUSAND THREEPENNY BITS[1]

BY EDWARD VERRALL LUCAS

*Author of "A Wanderer in London," "Listener's Lure," etc., etc.*

## THE FOURTH OF FIVE TALES ABOUT CHILDREN

I

ONCE upon a time there was a little girl named Alison Muirhead, and she had a doll named Rosamund and a dog named Thomson. The dog was an Aberdeen terrier, and he came from Aberdeen by train in the care of the guard, and he rarely did what he was told, which is the way of Aberdeens, as you have perhaps discovered.

Alison used to take her doll and Thomson every day into Kensington Gardens, and when they were well inside the Gardens, opposite the tulips and the new statue of William III, she used to unclasp the catch of Thomson's lead and let him run, doing her best to keep an eye on him. This was not easy, for Thomson was a sociable dog, and he rushed after every other dog he saw, and either told them the latest dog joke or heard it, and Alison was often in despair to get him back.

If, however, Thomson had been an angel of a dog, this story would never have been written, because it was wholly owing to his naughtiness that Alison and the Old Gentleman met.

The Old Gentleman used also to go into the Gardens on every fine day and sit on one of the seats by the may trees between the long bulb walk and the Round Pond, with his back to the Albert Memorial. Not that he was one of those persons who always click their tongues when the Albert Memorial is mentioned, for, as a matter of fact, he did not mind the gold on it at all, and he really liked the groups of Asia and Europe and India at the corners, with the nice friendly elephant and camel in them; but he turned his back on the Memorial because the seat was set that way, and he liked also, when he raised his eyes from his book, to see so much green grass, and in the distance the yachtsmen running round the Round Pond to prevent their vessels wrecking themselves on the cement.

Alison had noticed the Old Gentleman for a long time before they had become acquainted, and he had noticed her, and was much attracted by her quiet little ways with Rosamund, and her calm, if despairing, pursuit of Thomson; and he liked her, too, for never playing diabolo.

But it was not until one day that Thomson broke loose at the very gate of the Gardens with his lead still on him, and in course of time ran right under the Old Gentleman's legs, and caught the chain in one of the eyelet flaps of his laced boots, that Alison and he came to speak.

"Ha, ha!" said the Old Gentleman to Thomson, "I've got you now. And I shall hold you tight till your mistress comes."

Alison was still a long way off. Thomson said nothing, but tugged at the chain.

"I've been watching you for a long time, Mr. Thomson," said the Old Gentleman, "and I have come to the conclusion that you are a bad dog. You don't care for any one. You do what you want to do and nothing else." Thomson lay down and put out a yard and a half of pink tongue. Alison came nearer.

"If you were my dog," the Old Gentleman continued, "do you know what I should do? I should thrash you." Thomson began to snore.

Alison at this point came up, and Thomson sprang to his feet and affected to be pleased to see her.

"Thank you ever so much," Alison said to the Old Gentleman. "But how ever did you catch him?"

"I didn't catch him," said the Old

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Gentleman; "he caught me. Come and sit down and rest yourself."

So Alison sat down, and Thomson laid his wicked cheek against her boot, and that was the beginning of the acquaintance.

The next day when she went into the Gardens, Alison looked for the Old Gentleman, and sure enough, there he was, and seeing there was no one beside him, she sat down there again. And for a little while on every fine day she sat with him, and they talked of various things. He was very interesting: he knew a great deal about birds and flowers and foreign countries. He had not only lived in China, but had explored the Amazon. On his watch-chain was a blue stone which an Indian snake-charmer had given him. But he lived now in the big hotel at the corner of the Gardens, and all his wanderings were over.

The funniest thing about him was his name. Alison did not learn what it was for a long time, but one day, as she was calling "Thomson! Thomson!" very loudly as they sat there, the Old Gentleman said, "When you do that it makes me nervous."

"Why?" Alison asked.

"Because," the Old Gentleman said, "my name's Thomson, too."

"Oh, I'm so sorry," Alison said; "I must call Thomson—I mean my dog—something else. I can't ever call him Thomson again."

"Why not?" said the Old Gentleman. "It doesn't matter at all. I can't expect to be the only Thomson in the world."

"Oh, yes," said Alison, "I shall."

The next day the first thing she did when she saw the Old Gentleman was to tell him she had changed Thom—the dog's name. "In future," she said, "he is to be called Jimmie."

The Old Gentleman laughed. "That's my name, too," he said.

II

One day the Old Gentleman was not in his accustomed place; and it was a very fine day, too. Alison was disappointed, and even Thomson, I mean Jimmie, I mean the Aberdeen terrier, seemed to miss something.

And the next day he was not there.

And the next.

And then came Sunday, when Alison went to church, and afterwards for a rather dull walk with her father, strictly on the paths, past "Physical Energy" to the Serpentine, to look at the peacocks, and then back again by the Albert Memorial, and so home. Monday and Tuesday were both wet, and on Wednesday it was a whole week since Alison had seen the Old Gentleman; but to her grief he was again absent.

And so, having her mother's permission, the next day she called at the hotel. She had the greatest difficulty in getting in, because it was the first time that either she or her dog had ever been through a revolving door; but at last they came safely into the hall, into the presence of a tall porter in a uniform of splendor.

"Can you tell me if Mr. James Thomson is still staying here?" Alison asked.

"I am sorry to say, missy," replied the porter, "that Mr. Thomson died last week."

Poor Alison. . . .

III

One morning, some few weeks afterwards, Alison found on her plate a letter addressed to herself in a strange handwriting. After wondering about it for some moments, she opened it. The letter ran thus:

*Re* Mr. James Thomson, *deceased.*

*To Miss Alison Muirhead:*

Dear Madam—We beg to inform you that, in accordance with the last will and testament of our client, the late Mr. James Thomson, there lies at our office a packet containing a thousand threepenny bits, being a legacy which he devised to yourself, free of duty, in a codicil added a few days before his death. We should state that, by the terms of the bequest, it was our client's wish that five hundred of the threepenny bits should be spent by you for others within a year of its receipt, and not put away against a maturer age; the remaining five hundred he wished to be spent by yourself, for yourself, and for yourself alone, also within the year.

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The parcel is at your service whenever it is convenient to you to call for it.

We are, dear madam,
Yours faithfully,
LEE, LEE AND LEE.

Alison was too bewildered to take it all in on the first reading, and her father therefore read it again, and explained some of the words, which perhaps your father will do for you.

But if Alison was bewildered, it was nothing to her mother's state, which was one of amazement and pride too.

"To think of it!" she cried.

"Well, I never heard of such a thing in my life!" she said.

"It's like something in a book or a play!" she exclaimed.

"A thousand threepenny bits! Why, that's—let me see—yes, it's—why, it's twelve pounds ten," she remarked.

As for Mr. Muirhead, he was pleased, too; but him it seemed to amuse more than surprise.

"After your lessons this morning," he said, "instead of going for a walk you can come into the city to me, and we'll go to the lawyers' together, and then have lunch at Birch's."

When they reached the lawyers' office Alison and her father were shown into a large room with three grave gentlemen in it, whom Alison supposed were Lee, Lee and Lee; and all the time that her father was talking to them she wondered which was *the* Lee, and which was the second Lee, and which was "and Lee." Then she had to sign a paper, and then one of the Lees gave her a canvas bag containing a thousand threepenny bits.

"Of course you would like to count them," he said; and Alison replied, "Yes," at which every one laughed, because Mr. Lee had meant it for a joke, and Alison had taken it seriously. But how could she expect that Mr. Thomson's lawyer, or, indeed, any lawyer of a dead friend, would make a joke?

"I'm afraid," said Mr. Lee, when they had done laughing, "that you would be very tired of the job before you were half-way through it. Count them when you get home, and if there is any mistake we will put it right; but one of our most careful clerks has already gone through them very thoroughly."

Then they all shook hands, and each of the three Lees said something playful.

The one that Alison guessed was Lee said, "Don't be extravagant and buy the moon."

The one that Alison guessed was the second Lee said, "If at any time you get tired of so much money, we shall be pleased to have it again."

While "and Lee" looked very solemn, and said, "Now you can go to church a thousand times."

Then they all laughed again, and Alison and her father were shown out into the street by a little sharp boy, whose eyes were fixed so keenly on the canvas bag that Alison was quite certain that he was the most careful clerk who had done the counting.

After they had been to lunch at Birch's, where they had mock turtle soup and oyster patties, they went home, and Alison poured all the threepenny bits into a depression in a cushion from the sofa, and counted them into a hundred piles of ten each. Then she got a wooden writing-desk, which had been given her by her grandmother, and emptied out all the treasures it contained, and put fifty of the little heaps into the large part of the writing-case, and the remaining fifty little heaps into the compartment for pens and sealing-wax, and locked it up again.

## IV

For the next few days Alison collected advice about the spending of her money from every one she knew. All her friends were asked to give their opinions, and thus gradually she decided upon the best way to spend the five hundred threepenny bits which were for others.

Her first thought was naturally for her mother, who was an invalid. Mrs. Muirhead was very fond of flowers, and so Alison went at once to see the old flower-woman who sits outside Kensington High Street Station, and who was so cross with the Suffragettes in self-denial week for interfering with her "pitch," as she called it; and Alison arranged with her for a threepenny bunch of whatever

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was in season to be taken to her mother twice every week, on Saturdays and Wednesdays, for a year, and, to the old woman's intense astonishment, she gave her one hundred and four of her threepenny bits.

Her Uncle Mordaunt advised her to take in a weekly illustrated paper—say the Sphere—and, after she had looked at it herself, to send it to one of the lighthouses, where the men are very lonely and unentertained. Alison thought this was a very good idea. The Sphere cost two threepences a week, and postage a halfpenny, or one hundred and twelve threepences — altogether one pound eight shillings.

Alison had now spent two hundred and sixteen threepenny bits, and, having arranged these two things, she decided to wait till Christmas came nearer (it was now July) before she spent any more large sums, always, however, keeping a few threepenny bits handy in her purse in case of meeting any particularly hard case, such as a very blind man, or a begging mother with a dreadfully cold little baby, or a Punch and Judy man with a really nice face, or a little boy who had fallen down and hurt himself badly, or an old woman who ought to be riding in a 'bus. In this way she got rid of fifty of her little coins before Christmas came near enough for her once more to think of little else but threepenny plans.

It was then that she found Tommy Cathcart so useful. Tommy Cathcart was one of her father's articled pupils, and it was he who reminded Alison of the claims of sandwichmen. Sandwichmen have an awfully bad time, Tommy explained to her. It is almost the last thing men do. No one carries sandwich-boards until he has failed in every other way.

After talking it over very seriously, they went together to a tobacconist near the Strand, who undertook to make up thirty little packets for threepence each, containing a clay pipe and tobacco, and these Tommy Cathcart and she slipped into the hands of the sandwichmen as they drifted by in Regent Street, in the Strand, and in Oxford Street, while the rest were given to a little group of the men who were resting, with their sandwich-boards leaned against the wall, in a court near Shaftesbury Avenue.

"Don't you think," Alison said, "that those who carry a notice over the head as well ought to have more?"

But Tommy Cathcart thought not.

That exhausted seven-and-sixpence.

Another thing that Alison and Tommy Cathcart did was to knock at the door of the cabmen's shelter opposite De Vere Gardens and ask if she might present a few puddings for Christmas Day. The man said she might, and that used up seven-and-sixpence—three puddings at half a crown, thirty threepences.

The other people to whom Alison sent Christmas presents with Mr. Thomson's money were the children of the boatmen who had taken out her and her father and her cousins, Harry and Francis Frend, in the Isle of Wight last year. These boatmen were two brothers named Fagg—Jack and Willy Fagg—and their boat was the Seamew. Jack had four children and Willy six, and Alison used to go and see them now and then. After much consideration she sent four threepenny bits to each of these children, a shilling pipe, with real silver on it, to Jack and Willy, and a pound of two-shilling tea to Mrs. Jack and Mrs. Willy. That made sixteen shillings, or sixty-four threepenny bits.

Just then Alison had an unexpected piece of luck, for as she was passing a shop in Westbourne Grove she saw a window full of mittens at threepence a pair, sale price. Now, mittens are just the thing for cabmen in winter—cabmen and crossing-sweepers and errand-boys. So Alison bought thirty pairs, or seven-and-sixpence worth, and she gave a pair to each of the boys that called regularly—the butcher's boy, and the baker's boy, and the grocer's boy, and a pair to the milkman, and a pair to the crossing-sweeper, and the rest were put in the hall for cabmen who brought her father home or took him out.

And then, just as they were getting rather in despair, one afternoon Tommy Cathcart came home with a brilliant idea.

"Smith," he said, "is the commonest

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name in England. In every workhouse in England," he said, "there must be one Smith at least. Why not," he said, "get, say, sixty picture post-cards and send them addressed to Mrs. Smith or Mr. Smith, or plain Smith, to sixty workhouses? We can get," he said, "the names from 'Bradshaw.' A person in a workhouse will be awfully excited to get a Christmas card, and if," he said, "there happens to be no Smith, some one else will have it."

Alison liked the idea very much, and so they went off to a shop in the Strand absolutely full of picture post cards and bought sixty at a penny each. They had some little difficulty in choosing, because Tommy Cathcart wanted a certain number to be photographs of Pauline Chase and other pretty people, but Alison said that views of London would be better, since most persons knew London, and the card would remind them of old times. As it was, so to speak, her money, Alison got her own way. Then they bought sixty halfpenny stamps, and returned home to find the towns in "Bradshaw" and send them off. That all came to seven-and-six, or thirty threepenny bits.

Then Alison had a very brilliant inspiration—to give Jimmie a beautiful silver collar all for himself, with the words "In memory of James Thomson" on it, as a Christmas present. Dogs have so few presents, and Jimmie really was very good, except when he lost his head in the Gardens, which, indeed, to be truthful, he always did. So he had his collar on Christmas morning, and it cost exactly twelve-and-six altogether, or fifty threepenny bits.

So much for the first five hundred.

V

Alison had then to lay out the second five hundred, or £6 5s., on herself, and herself alone. This was easier. She and her father spent three afternoons among the old furniture shops of Kensington and the Brompton Road, and at last came upon the very thing they were looking for in the back room of a shop close to the Oratory, kept by an elderly Jewish lady with a perfectly gigantic nose and rings on every finger.

This was an old bureau writing-desk, with drawers, and a flap to pull down to write on, and lots of pigeonholes, and a very strong lock. Also a secret drawer. After some bargaining Mr. Muirhead got it for six pounds, which left five shillings for writing-paper and sealing-wax and blotting-paper and nibs.

And that was an end of the thousand threepenny bits, as this balance-sheet shows.

STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS

FIRST ACCOUNT—FOR OTHER PEOPLE

| | Threepences. | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A year's flowers for mother, twice a week, at 3d. a bunch | 104 | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| *The Sphere* for a year | 104 | 1 | 6 | 0 |
| Postage of same to a lighthouse | 8 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Odd threepenny bits given to unhappy people in the streets, etc. | 50 | 0 | 12 | 6 |
| Tobacco and pipes to thirty sandwichmen, at 3d. each | 30 | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Three Christmas puddings for the cabmen's shelter near DeVere Gardens, at 2s. 6d. | 30 | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Ten Fagg children, at 1s. each | 40 | 0 | 10 | 0 |
| Two pipes for Jack and Willy Fagg, at 1s. | 8 | 0 | 2 | 0 |
| Two pounds tea for Mrs. Jack and Mrs. Willy, at 2s. | 16 | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| Thirty pairs mittens for cabmen, etc. | 30 | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Sixty picture postcards for the Smith family at 1d., and postage at ½d. | 30 | 0 | 7 | 6 |
| Silver collar for Jimmie, with engraving | 50 | 0 | 12 | 6 |
| | 500 | £6 | 5 | 0 |

SECOND ACCOUNT—FOR ALISON MUIRHEAD HERSELF

| | Threepences. | £ | s. | d |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Old bureau | 480 | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| Writing-paper, etc. | 20 | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | 500 | 6 | 5 | 0 |
| First account total | 500 | 6 | 5 | 0 |
| Grand total | 1,000 | £12 | 10 | 0 |

Audited and found correct,

(*Signed*) THOMAS W. CATHCART.

At least, not quite the end, as I will tell you. The face of the old Jewess, when the time came to pay for the bureau and Alison took forty-eight little packets of ten threepenny bits each out of her bag and laid them on the table, was a picture of perplexity and amusement.

"Well, ma tear, what's that?" she asked.

"Four hundred and eighty threepenny bits—six pounds," said Alison.

"But, ma tear, what will I do with all the little money?"

"It's all I've got," said Alison.

"You see," said Mr. Muirhead—and

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then he told the old lady with the big nose the story.

And what do you think she did? "Well, ma tear," she said, "I can't let you go away without something left, in case you met a poor beggar in the street. You must take back one of those little packets to go on with, as a present from me;" and she picked up one and placed it in Alison's hand, and Alison took it gladly.

And that was the beginning of a new Threepenny Trust, for Mr. Cathcart also contributed a little heap, and Mr. Muirhead henceforward made a point of saving every threepenny bit that he received in change (and I believe that sometimes he asked specially for them when he went to his bank) and bringing them home for Alison's fund; and Uncle Mordaunt must have done the same, for the last time he came to dinner he said to Alison, "I wish you'd get rid of this rubbish for me," and handed her seventeen of the little coins.

So you see that there is every chance of Mr. James Thomson's kind scheme going on for a long time yet; but, in so far as his own thousand threepenny bits are concerned, the story is done.

# A VESPER SERMON

## BY LYMAN ABBOTT

## I. H. S.

Saved through faith.—Ephes. ii. 8.

WE are accustomed to say that he who believes in Jesus Christ will be saved. I am afraid that often this phrase drops from our lips in the pulpit and in the prayer-meeting without any definite idea of what is meant by it. I want to try to tell you this morning some of the things that I mean when I say that we are saved by faith in Christ. I am not trying to tell you why we should believe in him; we are to believe only what is true, not what is pleasant. What is pleasant is sometimes not true; what is true is sometimes not pleasant. At another time I might tell you why I believe in Jesus Christ; to-day I want to tell you what are some of the results in human experience of such belief in Jesus Christ. And for this purpose I do not go to a book—not even to the Bible. I go to human experiences. I will try to interpret to you what are the human experiences of those who have faith in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of mankind.

We believe that Jesus Christ is the greatest Teacher and the greatest Leader the world has ever known; that he came to establish on the earth the kingdom of God, which Paul has described as righteousness, peace, and joy in holiness of spirit. We believe that he is not dead but is living, and as a living personality, though unseen and unheard, has a most powerful influence in promoting this kingdom of righteousness, and peace, and universal welfare. In our work, therefore, to promote righteousness, or the doing unto others as we would have others do unto us, and peace, or the good will of man to his fellow-man, and joy, or universal welfare founded on righteousness and peace, we believe that we are working under a Leader who is sure to succeed, and we are saved from the disheartening discouragements which at times we might otherwise experience in the face of all the forces for evil with which we have to contend. You can imagine two soldiers in the Army of the Potomac when, after successive disasters, General Grant has been called to take command. They are sitting by the camp fire one evening discussing conditions. One is an Eastern boy. "I think," he says, "that we might as well give it up. We are no match for the South. Our Generals are no match for Lee. We have tried under McClellan, under Pope, under Burnside, and under Meade, and are no nearer Richmond than we were three years ago. I am not going to give it up; I have enlisted for the war, but it is a pretty hopeless struggle." The other replies, "Not a bit of it! I know General

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Grant; I believe in him; I was with him at Fort Donelson, and Fort Henry, and Corinth, and Vicksburg, and he knows no such word as fail! We are going to win!" He is saved from discouragement by his faith in his Commander-in-Chief. So, when, in the Battle of Life, we confront corruption in politics and graft in business, sectional hate, race prejudice, religious antagonism, we say, This is not a problem for us to solve; this is not a work for us to do; this is a work which the Son of God is carrying on; we are working under him; he is going to succeed; the time of universal righteousness and peace and happiness is coming on apace; and we can contribute to it. We are not responsible for making the world right; we are only responsible to make our little corner of the world right. And so we make Faber's verse our motto:

"I do the little I can do;
And leave the rest to God."

Our faith in Jesus Christ saves us from burdens too great for us to bear; work too great for us to do; responsibilities too large for our ability. We are freed from the needless worry and the needless discouragement that come from undertaking responsibilities that are not our own. This is what we mean by casting our care on God. We do in life what the private under General Grant did in the Army of the Potomac.

But we are responsible for our own conduct; our own follies and failures; our own blunders and sins. And by our follies and sins we have impeded the progress of the world toward the kingdom of God; we have promoted unrighteousness and bitterness and unhappiness. We have done this in our own homes. We have spoken words that stung; and we have not done this carelessly, we have meant that the words should sting, we were glad that they did sting; and now we look back upon what we have done with shame—perhaps with dismay. We wish that we could tear out that page of our life; we wish that we could erase it and rewrite it. But that is impossible. What has been done cannot be undone; the past is past, and nothing can change it—not even God himself.

"The Moving Finger writes, and having writ,
Moves on; nor all your piety nor wit
Shall lure it back to cancel half a line,
Nor all your tears wash out a word of it."

But though God cannot annihilate the past and make it as though it had not been, he can out of our evil in the past bring good; out of our follies and sins he can and does produce blessing. In 1855–1856 I went from New York to Atlanta, Georgia. During the whole of my Southern trip I was anxious for my personal safety, and glad was I when I had passed Mason's and Dixon's line on my return, and was safe in the North again. For the South hated the North with bitter hatred, and the North despised the South with pharisaical contempt. The South said, The North will never fight; they are a community of shopkeepers who worship the "almighty dollar." The North said, The South will never fight; they are a community of braggadocios who threaten big things but will do nothing. For four years we fought face to face. We tested each other's courage; learned to respect each other's manly worth. The war, which was inspired by ambition, contempt, and hatred, united instead of separating us. Never since the Constitution was formed have the relations between North and South been as cordial and as fraternal as they are to-day. Out of the human hatred God brought a divine peace. The greatest crime in human history was the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. The cowardly Pilate on the bench, the crafty and ambitious Caiaphas in the church, the treacherous Judas among his own friends, conspired in this awful tragedy; yet out of that cowardice, that crafty ambition, that infamous treachery, God has brought forth a world's salvation.

This is the Christian's belief. We believe that God can bring good out of evil. When we say that we cast our sins on Jesus, this is what we mean. We mean that we cannot do anything to change the past—we cannot change the spoken lie into the truth; we cannot change the cruel word into a kindly one. We can only learn the lesson which our

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own follies and our own sins have to teach us, and then leave the consequences of those follies and those sins for God to take care of, and give ourselves unreservedly, unhindered by memories of the past, to the work of making the world, that is, our little corner of the world, more righteous, more peaceful, and more happy. Because we believe in Jesus Christ, because we believe in the forgiveness of sins, because we believe that God is able to bring good out of evil, we are saved from remorse.

In living this life, in doing the little we can do, freed from our responsibility for the whole world, freed from the responsibilities of our own blunders and sins, we are set free from what Paul calls "bondage to the law." I am inclined to think that there are a good many persons who, if they were frank, would express their idea of a Christian life something like this: I must leave undone the things I want to do, and I must do the things that I do not want to do, and there must be no happiness in me. This is the experience of one whose idea of life is to recognize certain rules or regulations as standards of life, and then to set himself elaborately, zealously, and persistently to conform to them. He would like to go to the theater, but he must not because he is a Christian; to dance, and he might dance if he were not a Christian; to play cards, and there is no harm in cards except for a Christian. He takes the Ten Commandments or the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount as a rule of life, and tries to square his life with them. He lives under bondage. Now, from this bondage he who has faith in Jesus Christ as a Life-giver is set free; he is saved from it by his faith in Christ. His attitude of mind toward Christ is that of a hero-worshiper. Jesus Christ is his hero. To be like Christ, to exert Christ's influence, to share in Christ's work, to have Christ's personality, to do something to help on the time of righteousness and peace and joy in holiness of spirit, this is his great ambition. Inspired by this ambition, he has that experience which a correspondent described in The Outlook for August 8 when he said, "I call it the Life of the Spirit, and it lives not on Sundays alone, but every day, and makes business, tending the baby, and sifting ashes a bubbling joy, because I see that Eternity is only an infinite series of one-minute periods, none of which can be longer nor fuller of opportunity than this one." Is this true? Remember that this is not a question which I am here considering. I am only trying to show you that he who believes that this is true is saved from drudgery and possesses a never-failing spring of life and joy.

The last enemy that shall be destroyed, says Paul, is death. For the Christian believer death is already destroyed. He does not believe in death; he believes that what Christ has said is true: "He that liveth and believeth in me shall never die." He believes that death is simply transition from a lower to a higher life; from a lesser to a larger life. He does not believe that it is a long and dreary sleep or that it is a shadowy waiting for a distant resurrection, or even a great separation. He reads the words of his Master, "I go to prepare a place for you, that where I am, ye may be also," and the other words of the Master, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world," and he believes that the friend who has seemingly left him is with Christ, and that he himself is with Christ, and therefore he and his friend are still companions. For him, by his faith in a Christ who rose from the dead, death is destroyed; it no longer exists.

Not long since I was talking with a friend for whom I have the greatest respect—a man of honorable life, of affectionate heart, of generous disposition; a man who has proved his love for his fellow-men by his systematic deeds of benevolence. He said to me, "I do not know what I would not give to be assured of ten years' longer lease of life." I replied, "That is curious to me. Dying seems to me like a trip to Europe, only to a grander Europe. I am very curious to know what the other continent has for me. I should be sorry to leave my work here, for I am interested in it, and my friends here, for they are dear to me and I believe that I am dear to them; but I do not think that I shall be sorry

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when the summons comes for me to sail away to that other continent where so many friends are waiting to greet me." He looked at me earnestly, and a little sadly I thought, as he replied, "I do not know what I would not give to believe as you believe." I am not a better man than he is, but I am saved from the fear of death by my faith in Christ, who has brought life and immortality to light. For me Christ has transformed death from an enemy to a friend.

When we say that we are saved by believing in Christ, these four things at least we mean by it: We mean that we are saved from the burden of responsibilities which we cannot ourselves fulfill; we are saved from remorse from the past, and the wholly useless endeavor to undo our mistakes and our sins; we are saved from bondage to our conscience and the consciences of other people, and have in place of it the cheerful enthusiasm of a great hero-worship; and we are saved from fear of death, and look forward with anticipation, not with foreboding, to the time of our migration. Our agnostic friends may be just as good men, may even be better men; they may fulfill as well as or better than we the duties which are demanded of them by their consciences. But they have not the freedom from anxiety, the succor from self-inflicted punishment, the inspiration of a joyous enthusiasm, and the hopeful anticipations of the last exit, that those possess who believe in Jesus Christ as the great Leader, the great Saviour, the great Inspirer, and the great Life-giver.

# THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES[1]

THE first of these works is a large volume of nearly four hundred pages, primarily valuable as a book of reference. The first seventy-two pages constitute an essay in which certain fundamental Constitutional principles are discussed, and those principles, as embodied in our American Constitution, are traced back to their origin in English history. The second and third parts are in the nature of a digest of the important statutes referring to English Constitutional principles, and of the forty-six State Constitutions, annotated with the corresponding provisions of the Federal Constitution. The law student, the journalist, men professionally engaged in political life, and others who have occasion to acquaint themselves with the details of American Constitutional law will find this book a valuable aid in their study.

The second volume consists of a series of lectures delivered by the same author before the Lowell Institute in the fall of 1907, in which he undertakes to give a popular exposition of the American Constitution and the principles which are employed by it in determining the powers of the Federal Government, the rights of the States, and the liberties of the people. Professor Stimson in his interpretation of the Constitution is a precisionist. An illustration of his emphasis on exactness of phraseology is afforded by a comparison of his statement on page 10, "No one of our courts, not the Supreme Court of the United States, ever nullifies or can annul a law," with his statement on pages 233–4 "that every attempt by Congress under the Fourteenth Amendment to make laws applying directly to the people of the States . . . was sooner or later declared null and void by the Supreme Court of the United States." Of course in strictness of language annul means to make void, and that the Supreme Court of the United States never does; in popular language it means to declare void, and that the Supreme Court of the United States can

[1] The Law of the Federal and State Constitutions of the United States. By Frederic Jesup Stimson. The Boston Book Company, Boston. $3.50. net.

The American Constitution: The National Powers, the Rights of the States, the Liberties of the People. (Lowell Institute Lectures.) By Frederic Jesup Stimson. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.25.

Constitutional Government in the United States. By Woodrow Wilson, Ph.D., LL.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50.

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do and does do. An instance in which his passion for exactitude has led him into error is furnished by his criticism, on page 141, of the statement of the President that for the Nation to "relegate" to the States the power to regulate and control large fortunes is a farce, a statement which Professor Stimson criticises on the ground that "under the Constitution the Nation can relegate nothing to the States. It is the States or the people that delegate powers to the Nation." But to relegate is not the same as to delegate. To relegate is, in law, "to remit or put off to an inferior remedy;" and what the President was affirming was that the Nation could not put off upon the States the power which, under the Constitution, it possesses, and he used exactly the right language to express that idea. Our point of view of the Constitution is not that of Professor Stimson; we do not think that it is the view of the majority of the people of the United States, nor that entertained by the ablest expositors of the Constitution, nor that to which the Nation has been steadily and irresistibly tending through its nearly one hundred and twenty years of existence. We do not think that the lines between the various departments can be drawn with any such sharp definitions as Professor Stimson attempts. But the book is valuable, first, because it will put before the students of Constitutional law with great clearness the theory of strict construction, and, second, because it points out, on the one hand, the historical origin of certain fundamental principles of American Constitutions, and, on the other hand, certain real perils against which we need to be on our guard. The perils to democracy will not be avoided by the obliteration of State lines and the assumption by the Federal Government of the functions which can better be performed by State Governments. But the distinction between State and Federal functions is not, in our judgment, to be found in the notion that "the Centralized Government of our mighty empire is confined to political powers alone, national defense, our relation to other nations, and, possibly, national improvements . . . while the domestic affairs of the people . . . are left to each man's own State to control;" but by the principle that all those interests which concern primarily and chiefly the people of the State are to be determined by the people of the State, and all those things which concern primarily and chiefly the people of the Nation are to be determined by the people of the Nation.

Professor Woodrow Wilson's book on "Constitutional Government in the United States," though less detailed, less legal, less scholastic, and possibly less scholarly than Professor Stimson's, is broader, more philosophical, more vital, animated by a clearer perception of actual conditions, less constricted by reference to the letter of the law. To Dr. Wilson the Nation is a living, growing organization, and the Constitution is a body of principles not to restrict but to guide and direct that growth. The actual functions of the President, of the Senate, and of the House of Representatives have all undergone great changes since the Constitution was written, just as the body of Presidential Electors no longer fulfills the function allotted to it by the Constitution. That body still exists, but it does not really elect the President, it only registers and makes legal the action of the people in electing him. There is nothing in the Constitution of the United States which confers on the Supreme Court of the United States power to declare a law unconstitutional and therefore null and void, and that power was contemptuously denied by Andrew Jackson; but, in spite of that denial, it has come to be exercised by the Supreme Court and is acquiesced in and confirmed by the people. Similar changes have taken place in the functions and the practical working authority of the President and of Congress. The President, as the one representative of the Nation, elected by all the people, not by the State as are the Senators, nor by the Districts as are the Representatives, is, if he chooses to make himself so, the leader of all the people, and more and more is coming to have the initiative in legislation. While thus the President is acquiring increased National power as the voice of the Nation, the House of Representatives is losing National power

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because it is ceasing to be the voice of the Nation. It is making itself instead a business organization for the purpose of framing legislation which has been initiated elsewhere. "In making itself an active part of the Government and falling into the silence of an effective, businesslike board of directors, it has forfeited the much higher office of gathering the common counsel of the nation and wielding the tremendous, the governing and sovereign, power of criticism." Whether it can recover the power which it has largely lost, Dr. Wilson does not discuss. We may add, however, that the attempt to lessen the power of the Speaker, to remove the desks from the House and commit the business work of the House to the Committee Rooms, and to re-establish freedom of debate on the House floor, are all parts of a half-conscious endeavor to recover the power to speak for the Nation which during the last half-century it has so largely lost. The Senate ought to be the Great Council of the Nation, the President's advisers. It ought to bring to him from the different sections of the Nation knowledge respecting the various currents of public opinion which it is impossible that he should personally possess, and so guide him in his own executive actions and co-operate with him in shaping the policy of the Nation, especially in international affairs. But this power of counsel and co-operation it has often sacrificed. "The Senate has shown itself particularly stiff and jealous in insisting upon exercising an independent judgment upon foreign affairs, and has done so so often that a sort of customary *modus vivendi* has grown up between the President and the Senate, as of rival powers." How the ideal relationship of fellowship in counsel between the President and Senate may be re-established Dr. Wilson does not discuss. But we may add that this relationship cannot, in our judgment, be re-established unless some of the absurd traditional rules of the Senate are abolished, the oligarchic power given to a little body in the Senate is taken from it, and the power of Senatorial committees to stifle all debate in the Senate on measures referred to such committees is destroyed; and such co-operation between the President and the Senate will be greatly facilitated by taking the election of Senators from the State Legislatures and giving it to the people of the State. We have seen nothing on the Constitution of the United States which seems to us more suggestive, and more really and fundamentally valuable, than this volume of Woodrow Wilson's, since the volumes—similar in spirit though different in character and purpose—of de Tocqueville and of James Bryce.

The fourth volume—"Federal Usurpation"—cannot be taken by the student very seriously. It is a view of the Constitution much more ably presented by Professor Stimson. It is accurate neither in its facts nor in its law; and its position that the three departments, the Executive, the Legislative, and the Judicial, are absolutely separate and independent from one another, and exist, as it were, in water-tight compartments, has long since been abandoned by the practice of the American people. The various attempts in this volume to make political capital against the President for certain specific acts in his administration was made by the partisan press at the time, and utterly failed. The President has authority to determine, under the pension laws, through the proper department, who are so infirm as to be entitled to a pension; and, in the exercise of that discretion, his judgment that soldiers who had reached a certain specified age were *prima facie* infirm was within his Constitutional and legal power. Mr. Pierce thinks this has cost the country millions. It is very doubtful whether it cost the country anything—whether the increased cost of the pensions granted was greater than the economies practiced by omitting the investigations in each specific case. The President has a perfect right to act as a friend of San Domingo and *quasi* arbitrator between San Domingo and her creditors, and, at the request of San Domingo, to take her customs receipts and pay them out as the San Domingo Government desired. The operation cost the United States nothing and involved the United States Govern-

[1] Federal Usurpation. By Franklin Pierce. D. Appleton & Co., New York. $1.50.

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ment in no responsibilities. It was for the President to decide when and under what circumstances the United States should recognize a new State, and his recognition of Panama as a State was the exercise of a function which has always been exercised by the Executive. He was bound by the treaty of the United States to protect the Panama Canal from danger. In the fulfillment of that obligation he prevented the landing of hostile troops near enough to the Panama Canal to imperil it. The country has since unmistakably ratified his action. The Constitution of the United States makes the President, Commander-in-Chief; the laws of the United States authorize him to dismiss private soldiers without trial, either with or without honor. His action in the Brownsville case was so clearly within his legal and Constitutional rights that his very bitter political enemies in the Senate could find no basis for an effective attack upon him because of it. It will require a much stronger book than Mr. Pierce has written to awaken any fears in the American people, from such incidents as these, that we are engaged in, or likely to be engaged in, "a change from democracy to imperialism and despotism."

# *Comment on Current Books*

*Writings of Samuel Adams*

From the strictly historical point of view, comparatively little new material is rendered available to the student by the fourth and concluding volume of Mr. Cushing's edition of the writings of Samuel Adams,[1] and this although the letters now published covered the interesting period which saw the Revolution brought to a triumphant close and the Constitution drafted and adopted. There is only one letter of any importance on the Constitution, a letter to Richard Henry Lee setting forth Adams's objections to the new form of government; and the Revolutionary letters afford but little insight into the workings of the Continental Congress, of which Adams was so long a member. But from the biographical standpoint the volume is most interesting. Adams's intense patriotism, his unfaltering belief in the essential justness and ultimate triumph of the American cause, his almost fanatical fear that the sovereign people would relax the vigilance which he deemed essential to the maintenance of the republic, his constant preachment of the virtue of simplicity, his bitterness against the loyalists—the "artful Tories," as he preferred to call them—his extreme New Englandism, and his unfailing interest in politics, are manifest throughout the correspondence. Even his letters to his wife have far less in them of domestic matters than of political discussion. A noteworthy feature is Adams's insistence that his fellow-countrymen be not content with achieving independence. England must be driven off the continent, or at all events must be forced to surrender the Newfoundland fisheries—for, "Is not the Fishery as valuable to America and more so to old Massachusetts than the Tobacco Fields of the Middle States or the Rice Swamps of the South?" Another fact of which there is repeated evidence is Adams's unswerving faith in his "truly patriotick friend," Arthur Lee. Nothing could shake his belief that Lee was a greatly wronged man and that the historian of some future day would "draw forth the Proofs of his Patriotism." But perhaps the most striking letter in the volume is the last, dated from Boston in 1802, reproaching Paine for his "defense of infidelity." "Do you think," he sternly asked Paine, "that your pen, or the pen of any other man, can unchristianize the mass of our citizens, or have you hopes of converting a few of them to assist you in so bad a cause?" The absence of an adequate topical index is to be regretted.

[1] The Writings of Samuel Adams. Vol. IV. 1778-1802. Collected and Edited by Harry Alonzo Cushing. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $5.

*The Mexican War*

Mr. Charles H. Owen's "The Justice of the Mexican War"[1] is a vigorous attempt to do away with the prevailing belief that the manner in which California and adjacent territories were acquired from Mexico is the one great blot on the escutcheon of the United States. The war was not fought, Mr. Owen affirms, out of predatory greed, or in the interests of the slave power, and it had not spoliation for its aim and object. "With a patience almost unparalleled in the history of nations," he writes, "the great republic had forborne to join issue of battle

[1] The Justice of the Mexican War. By Charles H. Owen. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.25, net.

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with a weaker neighbor; had refused to extend slave territory; had refused to punish insults to the flag, seizure of ships, murder and robbery of citizens; had refused to collect just and long-past-due claims for spoliations except in court of arbitration; or to do battle for unsurveyed boundaries. But a French and Mexican Empire or a British suzerainty on our immediate borders the United States would not have." Thus Mr. Owen makes the conflict turn on the great principle of national self-defense and self-preservation. He does not, indeed, adduce evidence to prove that either France or Great Britain had designs on Mexico and California, but he insists that, whether they had or not, their diplomacy was such as to give leading American statesman well-grounded apprehensions. This, of course, has been one of the most debated questions in connection with the war, and it cannot be said that Mr. Owen throws any new light on it. To speak plainly, notwithstanding his sub-title—"A review of the causes and results of the war, with a view to distinguishing evidence from opinion and inference"—he relies far more on opinion and inference than on what can be considered valid historical evidence. But, at any rate, in the matter of the spoliation claims and Mexico's attitude in general, he contrives to bring into relief many facts tending to substantiate the growing belief among scholars that the celebrated analogy of the wolf and the lamb has less warrant than most writers have maintained. If, therefore, we must dismiss his book as inconclusive, it should at least serve the useful purpose of stimulating renewed inquiry into the merits of the Mexican War.

*Queen Catherine of England*

It is high time that Queen Catherine's name and fame were righted. The blameless wife of the dissolute Charles II, she was a type of modesty and honesty in an age of English iniquity and corruption. Catherine of Bragança was a daughter of that Duke João of Bragança generally known to English readers as John of Braganza. He became King John of Portugal, and delivered his country from the Spanish yoke. Portugal's claims under her captivity of sixty years, and, in particular, the Duke of Braganza's claims to the Portuguese throne, were acknowledged by Charles I, alone among the kings of Europe. The Portuguese turned to England as to a deliverer; and thus, in their gratitude, began that English-Portuguese alliance never broken to this day. It was cemented when Charles II, son of Charles I, married Catherine of Braganza. Portugal now had an opportunity to show material evidence of appreciation of Charles I's services. Consequently Catherine's dowry comprised twice as large a sum of money as any King of England had ever received with a consort. Nor was this all. The dowry also comprised the immensely valuable and strategical ports of Tangier and Bombay. The English were naturally highly delighted with these acquisitions. They served little, however, to veil the unpleasant facts that Catherine was a Roman Catholic, Charles a Protestant, and that Catherine was going to a land where she would be disdained for her creed. The unfortunate Princess doubled that bigoted disdain on account of her bitter misfortune of childlessness. Finally, through her convent training, she was, at first at least, unfit to be a keen judge of politics, and her high sense of honor always prevented her from being used as a political tool. But she was no colorless, willowy creature. As Charles's Queen, Catherine had to live in London as Lot lived in Sodom. She did justly, she loved mercy, she walked humbly. A biography such as the present volume[1] is therefore welcome in reinstating this princess in her true place in history. The book should take its place alongside those other books of good women, Maud Jerrold's "Vittoria Colonna," for instance, and Sidney Lee's "Queen Victoria." Finally, in this character-study of Queen Catherine we have something more than a merely brilliant biography. We have, as well, a wealth of incidental information concerning old-time Portugal and England, especially valuable because of the excess of confidence felt by students in Burnet, Clarendon, and Macaulay, as fair-minded chroniclers of the times of the Restoration. The reader's attention is held throughout by the author's spirited style, full of color and of touch-and-go.

*Constitutional History of England*

It is nearly a quarter of a century since the late Professor F. W. Maitland delivered, at Cambridge University, the course of lectures on English constitutional history now for the first time put into print under the title of "The Constitutional History of England."[2] Like all of Professor Maitland's writings, this posthumous volume is distinguished by profound erudition and clearness of exposition. It has none of the fullness of his later productions, and, as its editor, Professor H. A. L. Fisher, candidly admits, is not to be regarded as "a specimen of Maitland's

[1] Catherine of Bragança. By Lillias Campbell Davidson. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $5, net.

[2] The Constitutional History of England. A Course of Lectures delivered by F. W. Maitland. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $3.50, net.

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polished and mature work." Nevertheless, it is welcome as an illuminating introduction to the study of the legal and governmental development of England, and, to the man of affairs, as a convenient substitute for more elaborate works. Though little more than an outline sketch, it is most comprehensive in scope, tracing rapidly the evolution of those laws, customs, and traditions which, taken together, form the flexible, unwritten Constitution of England, and the structure and operation of England's governmental machinery. Scant attention is paid to the political struggles which brought about the successive changes. The emphasis is almost altogether on results; and while this undoubtedly diminishes the readability of the book, it has the advantage of concentrating attention on the really vital facts. Particularly worthy of mention is Professor Maitland's elucidation of the development of the jury system, the differences between the feudal systems of England and France, the growth of the idea of ministerial responsibility, the location of sovereignty, and the present status of King and Parliament. A good many popular misconceptions, perhaps more prevalent here than in England, are cleared away, and a better understanding had of the factors making for England's continued strength and stability.

*Psychical Research Again*

Mr. Frank Podmore's "The Naturalization of the Supernatural"[1] is a really helpful addition to the rapidly growing literature dealing with the work that is being done in the debatable field of spiritistic phenomena, apparitions, hauntings, and kindred manifestations of a supposedly supernatural character. It describes in considerable detail the investigations of the Society for Psychical Research from the standpoint of one inclined to resort to a telepathic rather than a spiritistic explanation of the principal problems that have come up for solution. Mr. Podmore insists very plainly, however, that the time has not arrived to form ultimate conclusions—that the work of investigation should continue and judgment meanwhile be held in abeyance. Especially does he deprecate the growing tendency of psychical researchers to accept as proved the theory that the dead can and do communicate with the living, and that the survival of personality after the death of the body is consequently an established fact. "The man who at the present stage of the inquiry," writes Mr. Podmore with pardonable warmth, "invites us, on the strength—or weakness—of the evidence so far available, to acclaim the proof of human immortality, may be doing serious injury to his own cause." It is interesting to note, however, that in the present volume Mr. Podmore's tone is perceptibly less skeptical than was the case in his earlier writings, and particularly in his "History of Modern Spiritualism." This is seen, for instance, in his readiness to withhold an unfavorable verdict on the performances of Eusapia Paladino, the Italian medium who, after having been more than once detected in fraud, is still enjoying a remarkable vogue among European scientific investigators. "If we can attach little weight to the records," Mr. Podmore declares, "it is impossible not to be impressed by the scientific standing and the obvious sincerity of the witnesses. Professor Richet, Dr. Maxwell, Professor Morselli, Professor Foa, and other Italian *savants* have no manner of doubt that they have witnessed in Eusapia's presence phenomena inexplicable by any known force. If they do not enable us to share their conviction, they at any rate compel us to hold our judgment in suspense. There is at any rate a problem here, for the solution of which we must wait." This is obviously the attitude of an open-minded inquirer, and it is characteristic of the entire work, which may be safely commended to all desirous of broadening their knowledge of the aims, methods, results, and unsolved problems of psychical research.

[1] The Naturalization of the Supernatural. By Frank Podmore. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2, net.

*Separation Between Church and State in France*

In this volume[1] the Abbé Félix Klein gives much interesting general information concerning France; but his special object in writing the book was doubtless to publish the opinion of a liberal Roman Catholic concerning the separation of Church and State in France. Many as are the serious immediate disadvantages entailed by separation, they are yet more than compensated by the full liberty, which for the first time in five centuries is restored to the Roman Catholic Church, of choosing, as she likes, all her ministers, all the representatives of her hierarchy, from curés to bishops. To be sure, the canonical institution of French bishops was left to the Pope; but their nomination, both under the Concordat of Francis I and under that of Napoleon, was left to the head of the State. This is still the practice in those countries which retain a Concordat—for instance, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Bavaria, Peru. Even in Prussia and Russia only those candidates may be elected who are acceptable to the

[1] An American Student in France. By Abbé Félix Klein. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

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Government; and the greater part of the republics of Central and South America, though they may have rejected their former Concordats, still claim the control of the choice of their bishops. Another advantage pointed out by the Abbé Klein in separation is the liberty of the episcopal assemblies. Rarely, we would add, have the French bishops met together in official assembly during the past century without governmental hindrances. The reconstitution of the Church in France, thinks the author, "will even compensate and repair the spoliation and injustice established or preserved by the law of 1905." These opinions, as well as those less liberal, are voiced by various personages met by a religiously disposed young American student during a supposed sojourn in France.

*The Christian Minister*

This volume[1] adds to the already fair number of fresh works of its kind which attest the demand for closer adaptation of the Christian ministry to modern conditions. Special interest for American readers attaches to it. It is from the hand of one of the most eminent among British theological teachers, who views his subject from the standpoint of social and ecclesiastical conditions differing from ours. This naturally causes different emphasis on some points of common concern. *E.g.*, against the Anglican conception of the minister as a priest, Dr. Dykes stands for the New Testament teaching that this can be only in so far as the Church itself is "a priestly brotherhood of spiritual equals," officially represented in its minister. On the other hand, an entire section of the volume is devoted to the subject of public worship, so strongly emphasized by Anglicans, and to the minister's part therein. Here ministers of the non-liturgical churches, in which the pulpit, not the altar, is held in prime regard, have need of the better training which Dr. Dykes insists on. Something still is wanting to his treatment of the subject. Worship, defined as intercourse with God, must be intercourse in material things as well as in spiritual, and in the use of property as well as of the tongue. One brief paragraph in many pages suggests this, but it needs explicit and ample development. Dr. Dykes's elaborate treatment of his theme takes note of all particulars that have to do with the minister's success—even his choice of a wife, his manner in sick-rooms, and his precautions in cases of infectious disease. His emphasis throughout is on the culture of a manly piety and the care of souls. His concession to the current tradition that the apostolate was not designed to be permanent is quite groundless—the transliterated Greek word "apostle" (*apostolos*) being no more than the exact equivalent of *missionary*, and needing to be so translated.

[1] The Christian Minister and His Duties. By J. Oswald Dykes, M.A., D.D. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2.25, net.

*Wheat*

Mr. Smith's book[1] fills a long-felt want. It is often impossible to answer the questions concerning wheat fields and wheat markets without a long search in newspapers, pamphlets, and encyclopædias. In the present volume we have replies to very many questions which would ordinarily occur in connection with wheat fields and markets—not so much, however, in connection with the methods of grain-handling, milling, and manipulation of prices. As to grain inspection, the reader will search in vain here for much discussion. It is a satisfaction, however, to know that the author is a firm believer in Federal grain inspection as a remedy for certain evils known and for others imagined to exist under State or grain-exchange inspection. In Mr. Smith's consideration of the wheat fields of the various countries, a chief interest, of course, obtains as regards our own country, one of the three most important wheat-exporting countries in the world. Perhaps the most interesting and instructive part of the book may be found in the pages wherein the author describes the changes which have taken place in our individual States as wheat-producers. For instance, the Michigan crops are now only half what they once were, whereas, across the border, Indiana now cultivates the greatest wheat acreage it ever had. This is prefatory, of course, to a consideration of what has been lost by continuous wheat-growing. In the Northwest, for instance, Mr. Smith says that the average yield per acre has been reduced some three bushels in this way. Speaking of the country generally, he declares that, by means of crop-rotation and intensive farming, the yield per acre might be increased by at least a bushel. For it must be remembered that, while wheat is not necessarily an exhaustive crop, it is rather the lack of systematic and intelligent cultivation of the soil that causes a loss of nitrogen and hence a decline in fertility. The book thus calls attention to a National menace—the destruction, through ignorance, of the fertility of our soil.

[1] Wheat Fields and Markets of the World. By Rollin E. Smith. The Modern Miller Company, St. Louis, Missouri. $2, net.

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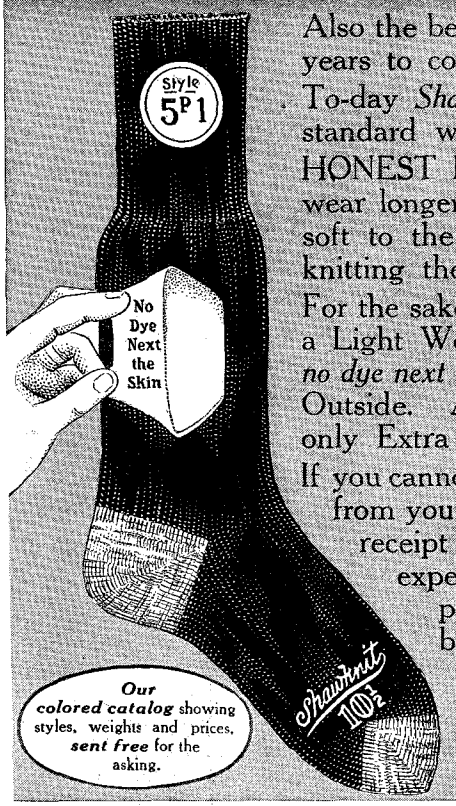
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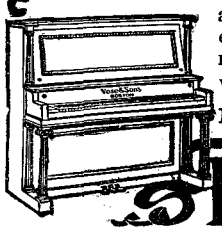

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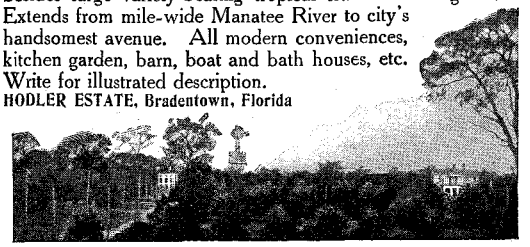


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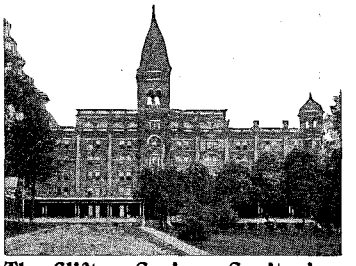

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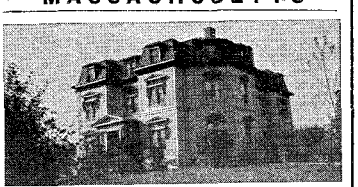

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## HELP WANTED

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WANTED—A French or Swiss governess in a large family who live in the country. Music required. Mrs. J. M. Lasell, Whitinsville, Massachusetts.

## SITUATIONS WANTED

### Business Situations

CLERICAL position, preferably secretarial, by woman of culture, ability, and large experience. Stenographer, bookkeeper. Address 145, Outlook.

LAW office position wanted—Young man, 21, understands stenography, typewriting, bookkeeping. Highest references. 913, Outlook.

SECRETARY'S *position—private or in* school with some teaching—or tutoring, by teacher. Stenography, experience, moderate terms. 142, Outlook.

WELL educated capable woman (33), some knowledge of nursing, A1 stenographer and correspondent, desires resident position in physician's home. 131, Outlook.

COLLEGE graduate (32) wants opportunity as reporter on country daily; moderate salary. References. 105, Outlook.

YOUNG churchwoman, trained and experienced worker, desires church or settlement work in manufacturing town. 120, Outlook.

REFINED young woman would like work on children's clothes and infants' outfits, by day or take home. M.P., 485 1st St., Brooklyn.

### Companions and Domestic Helpers

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WANTED by refined young woman, *Scotch, position in private family to care for* children: will do mending. 150, Outlook.

PRACTICAL nurse and professional masseuse desires care of invalid. Box 1,265, Pittsfield, Mass.

WIDOW (Canadian) wishes position as housekeeper, companion, or position of trust. References given (American) and required. 149, Outlook.

CAPABLE, refined woman as companion, traveling or otherwise. Salary no object. Best reference. Miss Elizabeth Mitchell, Vineland, New Jersey.

SITUATION wanted—Managing housekeeper, club or family. Miss Gard, 3503 W. 62d Place, Chicago.

GENTLEWOMAN, widow, wishes position as companion; would travel. References unexcelled. 135, Outlook.

TRAINED nurse wants patient going abroad. 134, Outlook.

REFINED lady desires position as companion. 132, Outlook.

WOMAN of refinement desires position, housekeeper or companion and social secretary. Address 130, Outlook.

TRAINED *nurse desires charge of invalid* or orphan. Nurse Ferrill, New Liskeard, Ontario, Canada.

AN experienced graduate nurse desires a position as companion for lady or as chaperon for young girl. References required and given. Address 140, Outlook.

A French lady, with best city references, private teacher, would give part of time as *companion or chaperon in return* for home in New York City. 18 Irving Place.

WANTED—Position as working housekeeper or caretaker. Address 111, Outlook.

TRAINED nurse desires position with semi-invalid or elderly lady; good correspondent; would travel and be generally useful. References. 110, Outlook.

A lady, an experienced traveler, wishes resident or visiting position as private secretary or companion. Very successful in method of teaching and entertaining children. 114, Outlook.

EXPERIENCED, refined nurse and companion desires employment. Address 118, Outlook.

## SITUATIONS WANTED

### Companions and Domestic Helpers

REFINED and capable lady, now managing club house, wishes suitable position. Prefers to manage house and act as companion or chaperon. Fond of young people. Accomplished housekeeper. Successful in managing servants. Capable. 104, Outlook.

REFINED young woman with little girl (3) desires position as working housekeeper in small family adults. No laundry. Excellent cook. References. Box 22, Pittsford, N. Y.

WANTED—By capable young woman with domestic science training, a position as *matron in school or institution.* Address Lucia Burbank, Franklin, N. H.

COLLEGE woman, science teacher, desiring change of occupation, would travel as companion for expenses. 103, Outlook.

REFINED, middle-aged American gentlewoman desires position, companion or nurse. Unexceptionable references. Thoroughly capable and obliging. 124, Outlook.

COMPETENT young woman wishes position in small family, without children, as housekeeper and useful companion. 121, Outlook.

LADY wishes position as companion. References. Address 126, Outlook.

TRAINED nurse, undergraduate, two years and half training, desires position as nurse in home or institution, or nursery companion. Best references. 122, Outlook.

SUPERINTENDENT or matron, experienced in institution work, wishes position. Excellent testimonials. 128, Outlook.

A churchwoman, with unexceptionable references, who has had large experience in the management of hospital and institution work, wishes an engagement. Understands nervous diseases. Would take work for consumptives. Address 85, Outlook.

WANTED—Position as traveling companion, chaperon, resident companion or secretary by a college woman thirty-three years old. Experience and references. Address 9,989, Outlook.

CULTURED woman desires position, *chaperon, companion; French, German, Italian*, musical; traveled. Best references. Box 200, Bryn Mawr, Pa.

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THE SUMMER TUTORING SCHOOL furnishes expert tutoring at your summer home, wherever that may be. Address A. von W. Leslie, A.M., Head Master, 537 Fifth Ave., N. Y.

EXPERIENCED college graduate (32) open for day school, tutor, or companion. English, History, Classics. S. W. Coons, Ballston Spa, N. Y.

VISITING kindergartner, experienced teacher, New York, Newark, or Oranges. 107, Outlook.

WANTED—Position as governess, companion, or mother's helper in family. Best references. 119, Outlook.

WANTED—Position by a teacher of domestic science; large experience. Must be good; South preferred. 29, Outlook.

A German governess, well recommended, successful teacher with a thorough knowledge of French, desires responsible position, preferably in the country. Address "Oakleigh," Llewellyn Park, Orange, N. J.

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